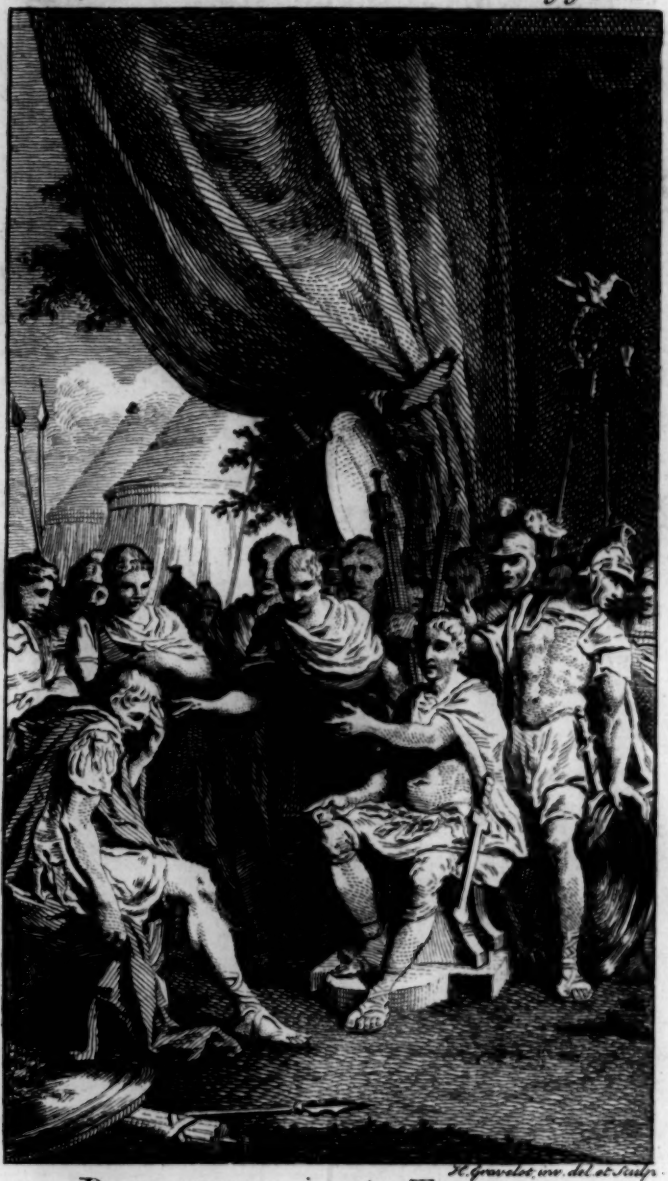
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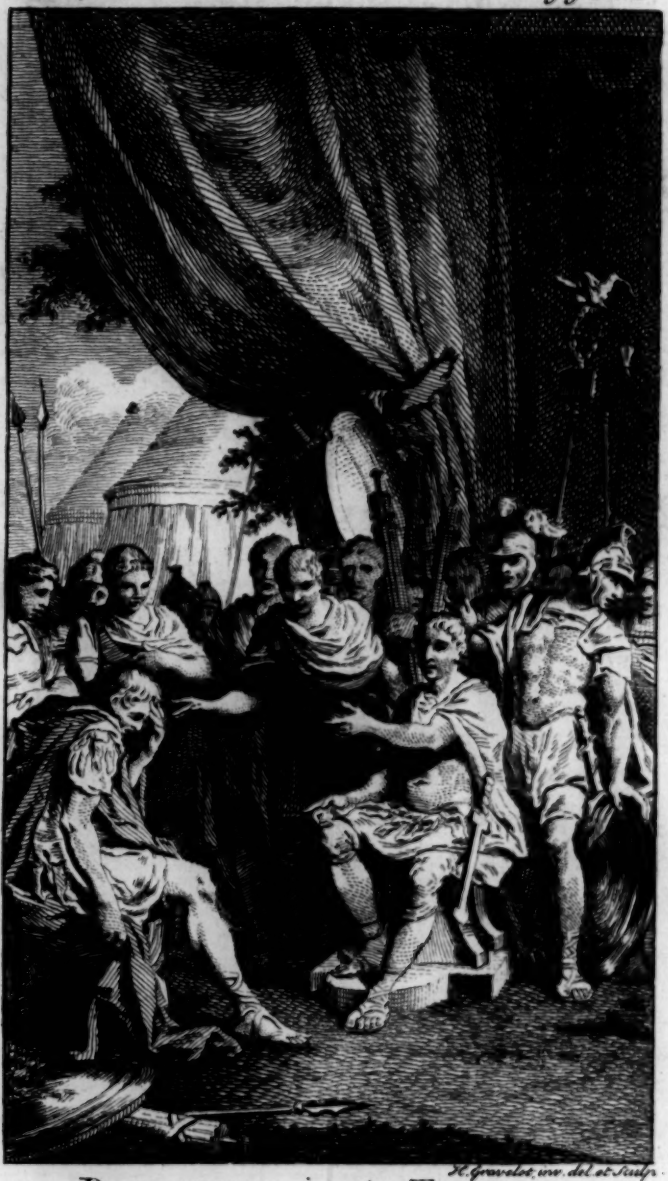
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THE

# ANCIENT HISTORY

OF THE

EGYPTIANS,
CARTHAGINIANS,
ASSYRIANS,
BABYLONIANS,

MEDES AND PERSIANS,
MACEDONIANS,
AND
GRECIANS.

By Mr. ROLLIN,

*Late Principal of the Univerſity of Paris, now Profeſſor of Eloquence in the Royal College, and Member of the Royal Academy of Inſcriptions and Belles-Lettres.*

TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH.

IN SEVEN VOLUMES.

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*there. Cæſar, who purſued him, arrives at Alexandria, where he is informed of his death, which he ſeems to lament. He endeavours to reconcile the brother and ſiſter, and for that purpoſe ſends for Cleopatra, of whom he ſoon becomes enamoured. Great commotions ariſe at Alexandria, and ſeveral battles are fought between the Egyptians and Cæſar's troops, wherein the latter have almoſt always the advantage. The king, having been drowned in flying after a ſea-fight, all Egypt ſubmits to Cæſar. He ſets Cleopatra, with her younger brother, upon the throne, and returns to Rome* - Page 249

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# BOOK THE TWENTIETH.

# THE HISTORY OF ALEXANDER's SUCCESSORS CONTINUED.

THE twentieth Book is divided into three articles, which are all abridegments: The firſt, of the hiſtory of the Jews, from the reign of ARISTOBULUS to that of HEROD the Great; the ſecond, of the hiſtory of the Parthians, from the eſtabliſhment of that empire to the defeat of CRASSUS; the third, of the hiſtory of the kings of Cappadocia, to the annexing that kingdom to the Roman empire.

## ARTICLE I.

*Abridgement of the hiſtory of the Jews from* ARISTOBULUS, *ſon of* HYRCANUS, *who firſt aſſumed the rank of king, to the reign of* HEROD *the Great, the Idumæan.*

AS the hiſtory of the Jews is often intermixed with that of the kings of Syria and Egypt, I have taken care, as occaſion offered, to relate of it what was moſt neceſſary and ſuitable to my ſubject. I ſhall add here what remains of that hiſtory to the reign of Herod the Great. The hiſtorian Joſephus, who is in every one's hands, will ſatisfy the curioſity of ſuch as are deſirous of being more fully informed in it. Dean Prideaux, whom I have uſed here, may be alſo conſulted to the ſame effect.

## Sect. I. *Reign of* Aristobulus *the firſt, which laſted two years.*

A. M. 3898. Ant. J. C. 106. HYRCANUS, high-prieſt and prince of the Jews (*a*), had left five ſons at his death. The firſt was Ariſtobulus, the ſecond Antigonus, the third Alexander Jannæus, the fourth's name is unknown. The fifth was called Abſalom.

Ariſtobulus, as the eldeſt, ſucceeded his father in the high-prieſthood and temporal ſovereignty. As ſoon as he ſaw himſelf well eſtabliſhed, he aſſumed the diadem and title of king, which none of thoſe who had governed Judæa from the Babyloniſh captivity had done beſides himſelf. The conjuncture ſeemed favourable for that deſign. The kings of Syria and Egypt, who were alone capable of oppoſing it, were weak princes, involved in domeſtick troubles and civil wars, little ſecure upon the throne, and not maintaining themſelves long in the poſſeſſion of it. He knew the Romans were much inclined to authoriſe the diſmembering and dividing the dominions of the Grecian kings, in order to weaken and keep them low in compariſon with themſelves. Beſides, it was natural for Ariſtobulus to take the advantage of the victories and acquiſitions made by his anceſtors, who had given an aſſured and uninterrupted eſtabliſhment to the Jewiſh nation, and enabled it to ſupport the dignity of a king amongſt its neighbours.

Ariſtobulus's mother, in virtue of Hyrcanus's will, pretended to the government; but Ariſtobulus was the ſtrongeſt, and put her in priſon, where he cauſed her to be ſtarved to death. For his brothers, as he very much loved Antigonus the eldeſt of them, he gave him at firſt a ſhare in the government; but ſome ſmall time after, upon a falſe accuſation, put him to death. He confined the other three in a priſon during his life.

A. M. 3898. Ant. J. C. 106. When Ariſtobulus had fully poſſeſſed himſelf of the authority his father had enjoyed, (*b*) he entered into

(*a*) Joſeph. Antiq. xiii. 19, &c. Id. de bell. Jud. 1. 3.
(*b*) Joſeph. Antiq. xiii. 19. Id. de bel. Jud. 1. 3.

into a war with the Ituræans, and after having ſubjected the greateſt part of them, he obliged them to embrace Judaiſm, as Hyrcanus had the Idumæans ſome years before. He gave them the alternative, either to be circumciſed and profeſs the Jewiſh religion, or to quit their country and ſeek a ſettlement elſewhere. They choſe to ſtay, and comply with what was required of them, and were incorporated with the Jews, both as to ſpirituals and temporals. This practice became a fundamental maxim with the Aſmoneans. It ſhows, that they had not a juſt idea of religion at that time, which does not impoſe itſelf by force, and which ought not to be received but voluntarily and by perſuaſion. Ituræa, inhabited by the people in queſtion, was a part of Cœloſyria, on the north-eaſt frontier of Iſrael, between the inheritance of the half tribe of Manaſſeh on the other ſide of the Jordan, and the territory of Damaſcus.

A diſtemper obliged Ariſtobulus to return from Ituræa to Jeruſalem, and to leave the command of the army to his brother Antigonus, to make an end of the war he had begun. The queen and her cabal, who envied Antigonus the king's favour, took the advantage of this illneſs, to alienate the king againſt him by falſe reports and vile calumnies. Antigonus ſoon returned to Jeruſalem after the ſucceſſes by which he had terminated the war. His entry was a kind of triumph. The feaſt of the tabernacles was then celebrating. He went directly to the temple with his guards, completely armed as he had entered the city, without giving himſelf time to change any part of his equipage. This was made a crime with the king; who, otherwiſe prejudiced againſt him, ſent him orders to diſarm himſelf, and come to him as ſoon as poſſible; conceiving, if he refuſed to obey, it was a proof of ſome bad deſign; in that caſe he gave orders that he ſhould be killed. The perſon ſent by Ariſtobulus, was gained by the queen and her cabal, and told him the order quite differently; that the king deſired to ſee him completely armed as he was. Anti-

gonus went directly to wait on him; and the guards who ſaw him come in his arms, obeyed his orders, and killed him.

Ariſtobulus, having diſcovered all that had paſſed, was violently affected with it, and inconſolable for his death. Tormented with remorſe of conſcience for this murther, and that of his mother, he led a miſerable life, and expired at laſt in the higheſt grief and deſpair.

## Sect. II. *Reign of* Alexander Jannæus, *which continued twenty-ſeven years.*

A. M. 3899. Ant. J. C. 105. SALOME, the wife of Ariſtobulus (*a*), immediately after his death, took the three princes out of the priſon, into which they had been put by her huſband. Alexander Jannæus, the eldeſt of the three, was crowned. He put his next brother to death, who had endeavoured to deprive him of the crown. As for the third, named Abſalom, who was of a peaceable diſpoſition, and who had no thoughts but of living in tranquillity as a private perſon (*b*), he granted him his favour, and protected him during his whole life. No more is ſaid of him, than that he gave his daughter in marriage to the youngeſt ſon of his brother Alexander, and that he ſerved him againſt the Romans at the ſiege of Jeruſalem, in which he was made priſoner forty-two years after, when the temple was taken by Pompey.

Whilſt all this paſſed, the two kings of Syria, of whom Grypus reigned at Antioch, and Antiochus of Cyzicum at Damaſcus, made a cruel war upon each other, although they were brothers. Cleopatra and Alexander the youngeſt of her ſons reigned in Egypt, and Ptolemy Lathyrus the eldeſt in Cyprus.

Alexander Jannæus, ſome time after he returned to Jeruſalem, and had taken poſſeſſion of the throne, had ſet a good army on foot, which paſſed the Jordan, and formed the ſiege of Gadara. At the end of ten months, having made himſelf maſter of that city, he took

(*a*) Joſeph. Antiq. xiii. 20. Id. de bel. Jud. 1. 3.
(*b*) Id. Antiq. xiv. 8.

took ſeveral other very ſtrong places, ſituated alſo on the other ſide of the Jordan. But not being ſufficiently upon his guard in his return, he was beat by the enemy, and loſt ten thouſand men, with all the ſpoils he had taken, and his own baggage. He returned to Jeruſalem in the higheſt affliction for this loſs, and the ſhame with which it was attended. He had even the mortification to ſee, that many people, inſtead of lamenting his misfortune, took a malignant joy in it. For from the quarrel of Hyrcanus with the Phariſees, they had always been the enemies of his houſe, and eſpecially of this Alexander. And as they had drawn almoſt the whole people into their party, they had ſo ſtrongly prejudiced and enflamed them againſt him that all the diſorders and commotions, with which his whole reign was embroiled, flowed from this ſource.

This loſs, great as it was, did not prevent his going to ſeiſe Raphia and Anthedon, when he ſaw the coaſt of Gaza without defence, after the departure of Lathyrus. Thoſe two poſts, which were only a few miles from Gaza, kept it in a manner blocked up, which was what he propoſed when he attacked them. He had never forgiven the inhabitants of Gaza for calling in Lathyrus againſt him, and giving him troops, which had contributed to his gaining the fatal battle of Jordan, and he earneſtly ſought all occaſions to avenge himſelf upon them. A. M. 3904. Ant J. C. 100.

As ſoon as his affairs would permit, he came with a numerous army to beſiege their city. Apollodorus the governor of it, defended the place a whole year with a valour and prudence that acquired him great reputation. His own brother Lyſimachus could not ſee his glory without envy; and that baſe paſſion induced him to aſſaſſinate the governour. That wretch afterwards aſſociated with ſome others as bad as himſelf, and ſurrendered the city to Alexander. Upon his entrance, it was thought by his behaviour and the orders he gave, that he intended to uſe his victory with clemency and moderation. But as ſoon as he ſaw himſelf maſter of all the poſts, and that there was nothing to oppoſe him, he gave his ſoldiers permiſſion A. M. 3906. Ant. J. C. 98. A. M. 3907. Ant. J. C. 97.

to kill, plunder, and deſtroy; and immediately all the barbarity that could be imagined was exerciſed upon that unfortunate city. The pleaſure of revenge coſt him very dear. For the inhabitants of Gaza defended themſelves like men in deſpair, and killed him almoſt as many of his people as they were themſelves. But at length he ſatiated his brutal revenge, and reduced that ancient and famous city to an heap of ruins; after which he returned to Jeruſalem. This war employed him a year.

A. M. 3909. Ant. J. C. 95. Some time after the people affronted him in the moſt heinous manner (*d*). At the feaſt of the tabernacles, whilſt he was in the temple, offering a ſolemn ſacrifice, in quality of high-prieſt, upon the altar of burnt-offerings, they threw lemons at his head, calling him a thouſand injurious names, and amongſt the reſt giving him that of *Slave*; a reproach which ſufficicently argued, that they looked upon him as unworthy of the crown and pontificate. This was an effect of what Eleazer had preſumed to advance, That the mother of Hyrcanus had been a captive. Theſe indignities enraged Alexander to ſuch a degree, that he attacked thoſe inſolent people in perſon, at the head of his guards, and killed to the number of ſix thouſand of them. Seeing how much the Jews were diſaffected in regard to him, he was afraid to truſt his perſon any longer to them, and uſed foreign troops for his guard, whom he cauſed to come from Piſidia and Cilicia. Of theſe he formed a body of ſix thouſand men, who attended him every where.

A. M. 3910. Ant. J. C. 94. When Alexander ſaw the ſtorm which had roſe againſt him a little appeaſed by the terrour of the revenge he had taken for it, he turned his arms againſt the enemy abroad. After having obtained ſome advantages over them, he fell into an ambuſcade, wherein he loſt the greateſt part of his army, and eſcaped himſelf with great difficulty. At his return to Jeruſalem, the Jews, incenſed at this defeat, revolted againſt him. They flattered themſelves, that they ſhould find him ſo much weakened and dejected by his

A. M. 3912. Ant. J. C. 92.

(*d*) Joſeph. Antiq. xiii. 21.

his loſs, that they ſhould find no difficulty in completing his deſtruction, which they had ſo long deſired. Alexander, who wanted neither application nor valour, and who beſides had a more than common capacity, ſoon found troops to oppoſe them. A civil war enſued between him and his ſubjects, which continued ſix years, and occaſioned great misfortunes to both parties. The rebels were beaten and defeated upon many occaſions.

Alexander, having taken a city wherein many of them had ſhut themſelves up, carried eight hundred of them to Jeruſalem, and cauſed them all to be crucified in one day: when they were fixed to the croſs, he ordered their wives and children to be brought out, and to have their throats cut before their faces. During this cruel execution, the king regaled his wives and concubines in a place from whence they ſaw all that paſſed; and this ſight was to him and them the principal part of the entertainment. Horrid gratification! This civil war, during the ſix years that it laſted, had coſt the lives of more than fifty thouſand men on the ſide of the rebels. A. M. 3918. Ant. J. C. 86.

Alexander, after having put an end to it, undertook many other foreign expeditions with very great ſucceſs. Upon his return to Jeruſalem, he abandoned himſelf to intemperance and exceſs of wine, which brought a quartan ague upon him, of which he died at three years end, after having reigned twenty-ſeven. A. M. 3925. Ant. J. C. 79.

He left two ſons, Hyrcanus and Ariſtobulus; but he decreed by his will, that Alexandra his wife ſhould govern the kingdom during her life, and chooſe which of her ſons ſhe thought fit to ſucceed her.

### SECT. III. *Reign of* ALEXANDRA, *the wife of* ALEXANDER JANNÆUS, *which continued nine years.* HYRCANUS *her eldeſt ſon is high-prieſt during that time.*

ACCORDING to the advice of her huſband, (*a*) Alexandra ſubmitted herſelf and her children to the power of the Phariſees, declaring to them, that A. M. 3926. Ant. J. C. 78.



(*a*) Joſeph. Antiq. xiii. 23, 24. & de bell. Jud. 1. 4.

in doing ſo ſhe only conformed to the laſt will of her huſband.

By this ſtep ſhe gained ſo much upon them, that forgetting their hatred for the dead, though they carried it during his life as far as poſſible, they changed it on a ſudden into a reſpect and veneration for his memory, and inſtead of the invectives and reproaches they had always abundantly vented againſt him, nothing was heard but praiſes and panegyricks, wherein they exalted immoderately the great actions of Alexander, by which the nation had been aggrandiſed, and its power, honour, and credit, much augmented. By this means they brought over the people ſo effectually, whom till then they had always irritated againſt him, that they celebrated his funeral with greater pomp and magnificence, than that of any of his predeceſſors; and Alexandra, according to the intent of his will, was confirmed ſovereign adminiſtratix of the nation. We ſee from hence, that a blind and unlimited conformity to the power and will of the Phariſees, ſtood with them for every kind of merit, and made all failings, and even crimes, diſappear as effectually as if they had never been; which is very common with thoſe who are fond of ruling.

When that princeſs ſaw herſelf well eſtabliſhed, ſhe cauſed her eldeſt ſon Hyrcanus to be received as high-prieſt: he was then near thirty years of age. According to her promiſe, ſhe gave the adminiſtration of all important affairs to the Phariſees. The firſt thing they did was to repeal the decree, by which John Hyrcanus, father of the two laſt kings, had aboliſhed all their traditional conſtitutions, which were afterwards more generally received than ever. They perſecuted with great cruelty, all thoſe who had declared themſelves their enemies in the preceding reigns, without the queen's being able to prevent them; becauſe ſhe had tied up her own hands, by putting herſelf into thoſe of the Phariſees. She had ſeen in her huſband's time what a civil war was, and the infinite misfortunes with which it is attended. She was afraid of kindling a new one, and not know-

ing any other means to prevent it, than to give way to the violence of thoſe revengeful and inexorable men, ſhe believed it neceſſary to ſuffer a leſs, by way of precaution againſt a greater evil.

What we have ſaid upon this head may contribute very much to our having a right ſenſe of the ſtate of the Jewiſh nation, and of the characters of thoſe who governed it.

The Phariſees always continued (*b*) their perſecutions againſt thoſe who had oppoſed them under the late king. They made them accountable for all the cruelties and faults with which they thought proper to blacken his memory. They had already got rid of many of their enemies, and invented every day new articles of accuſation to deſtroy thoſe who gave them moſt umbrage amongſt ſuch as ſtill ſurvived. A. M. 3931. Ant. J. C. 73.

The friends and partiſans of the late king, ſeeing no end to theſe perſecutions, and that their deſtruction was ſworn, aſſembled at laſt, and came in a body to wait on the queen, with Ariſtobulus, her ſecond ſon, at their head. They repreſented to her the ſervices they had done the late king; their fidelity and attachment to him in all his wars, and in all the difficulties with which he had been involved during the troubles. That it was very hard at preſent, under her government, that every thing they had done for him ſhould be made criminal, and to ſee themſelves ſacrificed to the implacable hatred of their enemies, ſolely for their adherence to herſelf and her family. They implored her either to put a ſtop to ſuch ſort of enquiries, or if that was not in her power, to permit them to retire out of the country, in order to their ſeeking an aſylum elſewhere: at leaſt they begged her to put them into garriſoned places, where they might find ſome ſecurity againſt the violence of their enemies.

The queen was as much affected as it was poſſible to be with the condition ſhe ſaw them in, and the injuſtice done them. But it was out of her power to do for them all ſhe deſired; for ſhe had given herſelf maſters;

(*b*) Joſeph. Antiq. xiii. 24. & de bell. Jud. 1. 4.

maſters, by engaging to act in nothing without the conſent of the Phariſees. How dangerous is it to inveſt ſuch people with too much authority! They exclaimed, that it would be putting a ſtop to the courſe of juſtice, to ſuſpend the enquiries after the culpable; that ſuch a proceeding was what no government ought to ſuffer, and that therefore they never would come into it. On the other ſide, the queen believed, that ſhe ought not to give her conſent, that the real and faithful friends of her family ſhould abandon their country in ſuch a manner; becauſe ſhe would then lie at the mercy of a turbulent faction without any ſupport, and would have no reſource in caſe of neceſſity. She reſolved therefore upon the third point they had propoſed to her, and diſperſed them into the places where ſhe had garriſons. She found two advantages in that conduct; the firſt was, that their enemies dared not attack them in thoſe fortreſſes, where they would have their arms in their hands; and the ſecond, that they would always be a body of reſerve, upon which ſhe could rely upon occaſion in caſe of any rupture.

A. M. 3934. Ant. J. C. 70. Some years after, queen Alexandra fell ſick of a very dangerous diſtemper, which brought her to the point of death. As ſoon as Ariſtobulus, her youngeſt ſon, ſaw that ſhe could not recover, as he had long formed the deſign of ſeiſing the crown at her death, he ſtole out of Jeruſalem in the night, with only one domeſtick, and went to the places, in which, according to a plan he had given them, the friends of his father had been placed in garriſon. He was received in them with open arms, and in fifteen days time twenty-two of thoſe towns and caſtles declared for him, which put him in poſſeſſion of almoſt all the forces of the ſtate. The people, as well as the army, were entirely inclined to declare for him, weary of the cruel adminiſtration of the Phariſees, who had governed without control under Alexandra, and were become inſupportable to all the world. They came therefore in crowds from all ſides to follow the ſtandards

ſtandards of Ariſtobulus; in hopes that he would aboliſh the tyranny of the Phariſees, which could not be expected from Hyrcanus his brother, who had been brought up by his mother in a blind ſubmiſſion to that ſect: beſides which, he had neither the courage nor capacity neceſſary to ſo vigorous a deſign; for he was heavy and indolent, void of activity and application, and of a very mean genius.

When the Phariſees ſaw that Ariſtobulus's party augmented conſiderably, they went with Hyrcanus at their head to repreſent to the dying queen what had paſſed, and to demand her orders and aſſiſtance. She anſwered, that ſhe was no longer in a condition to intermeddle in ſuch affairs, and that ſhe left the care of them to the Phariſees. However, ſhe appointed Hyrcanus her heir general, and expired ſoon after.

As ſoon as ſhe was dead, he took poſſeſſion of the throne, and the Phariſees uſed all their endeavours to ſupport him upon it. When Ariſtobulus quitted Jeruſalem, they cauſed his wife and children, whom he had left behind him, to be ſhut up in the caſtle of * Baris, as hoſtages againſt himſelf. But ſeeing this did not ſtop him, they raiſed an army. Ariſtobulus did the ſame. A battle near Jericho decided the quarrel. Hyrcanus, abandoned by moſt part of his troops, who went over to his brother, was obliged to fly to Jeruſalem, and to ſhut himſelf up in the caſtle of Baris: his partiſans took refuge in the temple. Some time after they alſo ſubmitted to Ariſtobulus, and Hyrcanus was obliged to come to an accommodation with him.

## SECT. IV. *Reign of* ARISTOBULUS II. *which continued ſix years.*

IT was agreed by the accommodation (*a*), that Ariſtobulus ſhould have the crown and high-prieſthood, and that Hyrcanus ſhould reſign both to him, A. M. 3935. Ant. J. C. 69.

(*a*) Joſeph. Antiq. xiv. 2—8. & de bell. Jud. 1—5.

* Baris *was a caſtle ſituate upon an high rock without the works of the temple, which were upon the ſame rock.*

him, and content himſelf with a private life, under the protection of his brother, and with the enjoyment of his fortunes. It was not difficult to reconcile him to this; for he loved quiet and eaſe above all things, and quitted the government, after having poſſeſſed it three months. The tyranny of the Phariſees ended with his reign, after having greatly diſtreſſed the Jewiſh nation from the death of Alexander Jannæus.

The troubles of the ſtate were not ſo ſoon appeaſed, to which the ambition of Antipas, better known under the name of Antipater, father of Herod, gave birth. He was by extraction an Idumæan, and a Jew by religion, as were all the Idumæans, from the time Hyrcanus had obliged them to embrace Judaiſm. As he had been brought up in the court of Alexander Jannæus, and of Alexandra his wife, who reigned after him, he had gained the aſcendant of Hyrcanus their elder ſon, with the hope of raiſing himſelf by his favour, when he ſhould ſucceed to the crown (*b*). But when he ſaw all his meaſures broke by the depoſition of Hyrcanus, and the coronation of Ariſtobulus, from whom he had nothing to expect, he employed his whole addreſs and application to replace Hyrcanus upon the throne.

A. M. 3939. Ant. J. C. 65.

The latter, by his ſecret negociations, had at firſt applied to Aretas, king of Arabia Patrea, for aid to re-inſtate himſelf. After various events, which I paſs over to avoid prolixity, he had recourſe to Pompey, who, on his return from his expedition againſt Mithridates, was arrived in Syria (*c*). He there took cognizance of the competition between Hyrcanus and Ariſtobulus, who repaired thither according to his orders. A great number of Jews went thither alſo, to demand that they ſhould be freed from the government of both the one and the other. They repreſented, that they ought not to be ruled by kings: That they had long been accuſtomed to obey only the high-prieſt, who, without any other title, adminiſtered

(*b*) Joſeph. Antiq. xiv. 2—8. & de bell. Jud. 1—5.
(*c*) Id. xiv. Id. de Jud. 1—5.

ſtered juſtice according to the laws and conſtitutions tranſmitted down to them from their forefathers: that the two brothers were indeed of the ſacerdotal line; but that they had changed the form of the government for a new one, which would enſlave them if not remedied.

Hyrcanus complained, that Ariſtobulus had unjuſtly deprived him of his birth-right, by uſurping every thing, and leaving him only a ſmall eſtate for his ſubſiſtence. He accuſed him alſo of practiſing piracy at ſea, and of plundering his neighbours by land. And to confirm what he alledged againſt him, he produced almoſt a thouſand Jews, the principal of the nation, whom Antipater had brought expreſsly, to ſupport by their teſtimony what that prince had to ſay againſt his brother.

Ariſtobulus replied to this, That Hyrcanus had been depoſed only for his incapacity; that his ſloth and indolence rendered him entirely incapable of the publick affairs; that the people deſpiſed him; and that he, Ariſtobulus, had been obliged to take the reins of the government into his own hands, to prevent them from falling into thoſe of ſtrangers. In fine, that he bore no other title than his father Alexander had done before him. And in proof of what he advanced, he produced a great number of the young nobility of the country, who appeared with all poſſible ſplendour and magnificence. Their ſupurb habits, haughty manners, and proud demeanour, did no great ſervice to his cauſe.

Pompey heard enough to diſcern, that the conduct of Ariſtobulus was violent and unjuſt, but would not however pronounce immediately upon it, leſt Ariſtobulus, out of reſentment, ſhould oppoſe his deſigns againſt Arabia, which he had much at heart; he therefore diſmiſſed the two brothers reſpectfully, and told them, that at his return from reducing Aretas and his Arabians, he ſhould paſs through Judæa, and that he would then regulate their affairs, and make the neceſſary diſpoſitions in all things.

Ariſtobulus,

Ariſtobulus, who fully penetrated Pompey's ſentiments, ſet out ſuddenly from Damaſcus, without paying him the leaſt inſtance of reſpect, returned into Judæa, armed his ſubjects, and prepared for a good defence. By this conduct, he made Pompey his mortal enemy.

Pompey applied himſelf alſo in making preparations for the Arabian war. Aretas, till then, had deſpiſed the Roman arms; but when he ſaw them at his door, and that victorious army ready to enter his dominions, he ſent an embaſſy to make his ſubmiſſions. Pompey, however, advanced as far as Petra his capital, which he took. Aretas was taken in it. Pompey at firſt kept him under a guard, but at length he was releaſed upon accepting the conditions impoſed on him by the victor, who ſoon after returned to Damaſcus.

He was not appriſed till then of Ariſtobulus's proceedings in Judæa. He marched thither with his army, and found Ariſtobulus poſted in the caſtle of Alexandrion, which ſtood upon a high mountain at the entrance of the country. The place was extremely ſtrong, built by his father Alexander, who had given his name to it. Pompey ſent to bid him come down to him. Ariſtobulus was not much inclined to comply, but he at laſt gave into the opinion of thoſe about him, who apprehending a war with the Romans, adviſed him to go. He did ſo, and after a converſation which turned upon his difference with his brother, he returned into his caſtle. He repeated the ſame two or three times, in hopes by that complacency to gain upon Pompey, and induce him to decide in his favour. But for fear of accident, he did not omit to put good garriſons into his ſtrong places, and to make all other preparations for a vigorous defence, in caſe Pompey ſhould decree againſt him. Pompey, who had advice of his proceedings, the laſt time he came to him, obliged him to put them all into his hands, by way of ſequeſtration, and made him ſign orders for that purpoſe to all the commanders of thoſe places.

Ariſtobulus,

Ariſtobulus, incenſed at the violence which had been done him, as ſoon as he was releaſed, made all haſte to Jeruſalem, and prepared every thing for the war. His reſolutions to keep the crown, made him the ſport of the different paſſions, hope and fear. When he ſaw the leaſt appearance that Pompey would decide in his favour, he made uſe of all the arts of complacency to incline him to it. When, on the contrary, he had the leaſt reaſon to ſuſpect, that he would declare againſt him, he obſerved a directly oppoſite conduct. Such was the contrariety viſible in the different ſteps he took throughout this affair.

Pompey followed him cloſe. The firſt place where he encamped in his way to Jeruſalem, was Jericho; there he received the news of Mithridates's death, as we ſhall ſee in the following book.

He continued his march towards Jeruſalem. When he approached, Ariſtobulus, who began to repent of what he had done, came out to meet him, and endeavoured to bring him to an accommodation, by promiſing an entire ſubmiſſion, and a great ſum of money to prevent the war. Pompey accepted his offers, and ſent Gabinius, at the head of a detachment, to receive the money; but when that lieutenant-general arrived at Jeruſalem, he found the gates ſhut againſt him, and, inſtead of receiving the money, he was told from the top of the walls, that the city would not ſtand to the agreement. Pompey thereupon, not being willing that they ſhould deceive him with impunity, ordered Ariſtobulus, whom he had kept with him, to be put in irons, and advanced with his whole army againſt Jeruſalem. The city was extremely ſtrong by its ſituation, and the works which had been made; and had it not been divided within doors againſt itſelf, was capable of making a long defence.

Ariſtobulus's party was for defending the place; eſpecially when they ſaw that Pompey kept their king priſoner. But the adherents of Hyrcanus were determined to open the gates to that general. And as the latter were much the greater number, the other party

party retired to the mountain where the temple ſtood, to defend it, and cauſed the bridges of the ditch and valley, which ſurrounded it, to be broken down. Pompey, to whom the city immediately opened its gates, reſolved to beſiege the temple. The place held out three months entire, and would have done ſo three more, and perhaps obliged the Romans to abandon their enterpriſe, but for the ſuperſtitious rigour with which the beſieged obſerved the ſabbath. They believed, indeed, that they might defend themſelves when attacked, but not that they might prevent the works of the enemy, or make any for themſelves. The Romans knew how to take the advantage of this inaction upon the ſabbath-days. They did not attack the Jews upon them, but filled up the foſſes, made their approaches, and fixed their engines without oppoſition. They threw down at length a great tower, with which ſo great a part of the wall fell, that the breach was large enough for an aſſault. The place was carried ſword in hand, and a terrible ſlaughter enſued, in which more than twelve thouſand perſons were killed.

During the whole tumult, cries, and diſorder of this ſlaughter, hiſtory obſerves that the prieſts, who were at that time employed in divine ſervice, continued it with a ſurpriſing unconcern, notwithſtanding the rage of their enemies, and their grief to ſee their friends, and relations maſſacred before their eyes. Many of them ſaw their own blood mingle with that of the ſacrifices they offered, and the ſword of the enemy make themſelves the victims of their duty: Happy, and worthy of being envied, if they were as faithful to the ſpirit, as the letter of it!

Pompey, with many of his ſuperior officers, entered the temple, and not only into the ſanctuary, but into the Sanctum Sanctorum, into which, by the law, only the high-prieſt was permitted to enter once a year, upon the ſolemn day of expiation. This was what afflicted and enraged the Jews moſt againſt the Romans.

Pompey

Pompey did not touch the treaſures of the temple, that conſiſted principally in ſums which had been depoſited there by private families for their better ſecurity. Thoſe ſums amounted to two thouſand * talents in ſpecie, without reckoning the gold and ſilver veſſels, which were innumerable, and of infinite value. † It was not, ſays Cicero, out of reſpect for the majeſty of the God adored in that temple, that Pompey behaved in this manner; for, according to him, nothing was more contemptible than the Jewiſh religion, more unworthy the wiſdom and grandeur of the Romans, nor more oppoſite to the inſtitutions of their anceſtors. Pompey in this noble diſintereſtedneſs had no other motive, than to deprive malice and calumny of all means of attacking his reputation. Such were the thoughts of the moſt learned of the Pagans upon the only religion of the true God. They blaſphemed what they knew nothing of.

It hath been obſerved, that till then Pompey had been ſucceſsful in all things, but that after this ſacrilegious curioſity, his good fortune abandoned him, and that his taking the temple of Jeruſalem was his laſt victory.

## SECT. V. *Reign of* HYRCANUS II. *which continued twenty-four years.*

POMPEY having put an end to the war, cauſed the walls of Jeruſalem to be demoliſhed, re-eſtabliſhed Hyrcanus, and ſent Ariſtobulus, with his two ſons, Alexander and Antigonus, priſoners to Rome. He diſmembered ſeveral cities from the kingdom of Judæa, which he united with the government of Syria, impoſed a tribute upon Hyrcanus, and left the adminiſtration of affairs to Antipater, who was at the A.M. 3941. Ant. J. C. 63.



* *Three hundred thouſand pounds ſterling.*

† Cn. Pompeius, captis Hieroſolymis, victor ex illo fano nihil attigit. In primis hoc, ut multa alia, ſapienter, quod in tam ſuſpicioſa ac maledica civitate locum ſermoni obtrectatorum non reliquit. Non enim credo religionem & Judæorum & hoſtium impedimento præſtantiſſimo imperatori, ſed pudorem fuiſſe—iſtorum religio ſacrorum a ſplendore hujus imperii, gravitate nominis veſtri, majorum inſtitutis abhorrebat. *Cic. pro Flac. n.* 67—69.

court of Hyrcanus, and one of his principal miniſters. Alexander made his eſcape upon the way to Rome, and returned into Judæa, where he afterwards excited new troubles.

A. M. 3947. Ant. J. C. 57. Hyrcanus finding himſelf too weak to take the field againſt him, had recourſe to the arms of the Romans. Gabinius, governor of Syria, after having overthrown Alexander in a battle, went to Jeruſalem, and re-inſtated Hyrcanus in the high-prieſthood (*a*). He made great alterations in the civil government, for from monarchical, as it had been, he changed it into ariſtocratical; but thoſe innovations were but of ſhort duration.

A. M. 3950. Ant. J. C. 54. Craſſus, upon his march againſt the Parthians, always intent upon gratifying his inſatiable avarice, ſtopped at Jeruſalem, where he had been told great treaſures were laid up. He plundered the temple of all the riches in it, which amounted to the ſum of ten thouſand talents, that is to ſay, about fifteen hundred thouſand pounds ſterling.

A. M. 3957. Ant. J. C. 47. Cæſar (*b*), after his expedition into Egypt, being arrived in Syria, Antigonus, who had made his eſcape from Rome with his father Ariſtobulus, came to throw himſelf at his feet, begged him to re-eſtabliſh him upon the throne of his father, who was lately dead, and made great complaints againſt Antipater and Hyrcanus. Cæſar had too great obligations to both, to do any thing contrary to their intereſts; for, as we ſhall ſee in the ſequel, without the aid he had received from them, his expedition into Egypt would have miſcarried. He decreed that Hyrcanus ſhould retain the dignity of high-prieſt of Jeruſalem, and the ſovereignty of Judæa, to himſelf and his poſterity after him for ever, and gave Antipater the office of procurator of Judæa under Hyrcanus. By this decree, the ariſtocracy of Gabinius was aboliſhed, and the government of Judæa re-eſtabliſhed upon the ancient foot.

Anti-

(*a*) Joſeph. Antiq. xiv. 10. Id. de bell. Jud. 1. 6. (*b*) Joſeph. Antiq. xiv. 15. de bell. Jud. 1. 8.

Antipater cauſed the (*c*) government of Jeruſalem to be given to Phaſael his eldeſt ſon, and that of Galilee to Herod his ſecond ſon.

Cæſar (*d*), at Hyrcanus's requeſt, and in conſideration of the ſervices he had rendered him in Egypt and Syria, permitted him to rebuild the walls of Jeruſalem, which Pompey had cauſed to be demoliſhed. Antipater, without loſing time, began the work, and the city was ſoon fortified as it had been before the demolition. Cæſar was killed this year. A. M. 3960. Ant. J. C. 44.

During the civil wars, Judæa, as well as all the other provinces of the Roman empire, was agitated by violent troubles.

Pacorus, (*e*) ſon of Orodes king of Parthia, had entered Syria with a powerful army. From thence he ſent a detachment into Judæa, with orders to place Antigonus, the ſon of Ariſtobulus, upon the throne, who on his ſide had alſo raiſed troops. Hyrcanus, and Phaſael, Herod's brother, upon the propoſal of an accommodation, had the imprudence to go to the enemy, who ſeiſed them, and put them in irons. Herod eſcaped from Jeruſalem the moment before the Parthians entered it to ſeiſe him alſo. A. M. 3961. Ant. J. C. 43.

Having miſſed Herod, they plundered the city and country, placed Antigonus upon the throne, and delivered Hyrcanus and Phaſael in chains into his hands. Phaſael, who well knew that his death was reſolved, daſhed out his brains againſt the wall, to avoid the hands of the executioner. As for Hyrcanus, his life was granted him; but to render him incapable of the prieſthood, Antigonus cauſed his ears to be cut off: For according to the Levitical law (*f*), it was requiſite that the high-prieſt ſhould be perfect in all his members. After having thus mutilated him, he gave him back to the Parthians, that they might carry him into the Eaſt, from whence it would not be poſſible for him to embroil affairs in Judæa. (*g*) He continued a priſoner



(*d*) Joſeph. Antlq. xiv. 17. de bell. Jud. 1. 8. (*d*) Joſeph. Antiq. xiv. 17. (*e*) Joſeph. Antiq. xiv. 24, 26. Id. de bell. Jud. 1. 11. (*f*) Levit. xxi. 16—24. (*g*) Joſeph. Antiq. xv. 2.

ner at Seleucia in Babylonia, till the coming of Phraates to the crown, who cauſed his chains to be taken off, and gave him entire liberty to ſee and converſe with the Jews of that country, who were very numerous. They looked upon him as their king and high-prieſt, and raiſed him a revenue ſufficient to ſupport his rank with ſplendour. The love of his native country made him forget all thoſe advantages. He returned the year following to Jeruſalem, whither Herod had invited him to come, but put him to death ſome years afterwards.

Herod at firſt took refuge in Egypt, from whence he went to Rome. Anthony was then in the high degree of power, which the triumvirate had given him. He took Herod under his protection, and even did more in his favour than he expected. For inſtead of what he propoſed, which was at moſt to obtain the crown for * Ariſtobulus, whoſe ſiſter Mariamne he had lately married, with the view only of governing under him, as Antipater had done under Hyrcanus; Anthony cauſed the crown to be conferred upon himſelf, contrary to the uſual maxim of the Romans in like caſes. For it was not their cuſtom to violate the rights of the royal houſes, which acknowledged them for protectors, and to give crowns to ſtrangers. Herod was declared king of Judæa by the ſenate, and conducted by the conſuls to the capitol, where he received the inveſtiture of the crown, with the ceremonies uſual upon ſuch occaſions.

Herod paſſed only ſeven days at Rome in negociating this great affair, and returned ſpeedily into Judæa. He employed no more time than three months in his journies by ſea and land.

* *Ariſtobulus was the ſon of Alexandra, Hyrcanus's daughter; and his father was Alexander, ſon of Ariſtobulus, brother of Hyrcania; ſo that the right of both brothers to the crown was united in his perſon.*

SECT.

## Sect. VI. *Reign of* Antigonus, *of only two years duration.*

IT was not eaſy ſo for Herod to eſtabliſh himſelf in the poſſeſſion of the kingdom of Judæa, as it had been to obtain his title from the Romans. Antigonus was not at all inclined to reſign a throne, which had coſt him ſo much pains and money to acquire. He diſputed it with him very vigorouſly for almoſt two years. A. M. 3965. Ant. J. C. 39.

Herod, (*a*) who during the winter had made great preparations for the following campaign, opened it at length with the ſiege of Jeruſalem, which he inveſted at the head of a fine and numerous army. Anthony had given orders to Soſius, governor of Syria, to uſe his utmoſt endeavours to reduce Antigonus, and to put Herod into full poſſeſſion of the kingdom of Judæa. A. M. 3966. Ant. J. C. 38.

Whilſt the works neceſſary to the ſiege were carrying on, Herod made a tour to Samaria, and at length conſummated his marriage with Mariamne. They had been contracted four years to each other: But the unforeſeen troubles, into which he fell, had prevented their conſummating the marriage till then. She was the daughter of Alexander, the ſon of king Ariſtobulus, and Alexandra, the daughter of Hyrcanus the ſecond, and thereby grand-daughter to thoſe two brothers. She was a princeſs of extraordinary beauty and virtue, and poſſeſſed in an eminent degree all the other qualities that adorn the ſex. The attachment of the Jews to the Aſmonæan family, made Herod imagine, that by eſpouſing her, he ſhould find no difficulty in gaining their affection, which was one of his reaſons for conſummating his marriage at that time.

On his return to Jeruſalem, Soſius and he, having joined their forces, preſſed the ſiege in concert with the utmoſt vigour, and with a very numerous army, which amounted to at leaſt ſixty thouſand men. The place however held out againſt them many months with exceeding reſolution, and if the beſieged had been as



(*a*) Joſeph. Antiq. xiv. 27. Id. de bell. Jud. 1. 13.

expert in the art of war and the defence of places, as they were brave and reſolute, it would not perhaps have been taken. But the Romans, who were much better ſkilled in thoſe things than them, carried the place at length, after a ſiege of ſomething more than ſix months.

A M. 3967. Ant. J. C. 37.

The Jews being driven from their poſts, the enemy entered on all ſides, and made themſelves maſters of the city. And to revenge the obſtinate reſiſtance they had made, and the pains they had ſuffered during ſo long and difficult a ſiege, they filled all quarters of Jeruſalem with blood and ſlaughter, plundered and deſtroyed all before them, though Herod did his utmoſt to prevent both the one and the other.

Antigonus ſeeing all loſt, came and threw himſelf at the feet of Soſius in the moſt ſubmiſſive and moſt abject manner. He was put in chains, and ſent to Anthony, as ſoon as he arrived at Antioch. He deſigned at firſt to have reſerved him for triumph; but Herod, who did not think himſelf ſafe as long as that branch of the royal family ſurvived, would not let him reſt till he had obtained the death of that unfortunate prince, for which he even gave a large ſum of money (*b*). He was proceeded againſt in form, condemned to die, and had the ſentence executed upon him in the ſame manner as common criminals, with the rods and axes of the lictor, and was faſtened to a ſtake; a treatment with which the Romans had never uſed any crowned head before.

Thus ended the reign of the Aſmonæans, after a duration of an hundred and twenty-nine years, from the beginning of the government of Judas Maccabæus. Herod entered by this means upon the peaceable poſſeſſion of the kingdom of Judæa.

This ſingular, extraordinary, and, till then, unexampled event, by which the ſovereign authority over the Jews was given to a ſtranger, an Idumæan, ought to have opened their eyes, and rendered them attentive to

(*b*) Joſeph. Antiq. xiv. 27. Plut. in Anton. in p. 932. Dion. Caſſ. l. xlix. p. 405.

to a celebrated prophecy, which had foretold it in clear terms; had given it as the certain mark of another event, in which the whole nation was intereſted, which was the perpetual object of their vows and hopes, and diſtinguiſhed them by a peculiar characteriſtick from all the other nations of the world, that had an equal intereſt in it, but without knowing or being appriſed of it. This was the prophecy of Jacob, who at his death foretold to his twelve ſons, aſſembled round his bed, what would happen in the ſeries of time to the twelve tribes, of which they were the chiefs, and after whom they were called. Amongſt the other predictions of that patriarch concerning the tribe of Judah, there is this of which we now ſpeak: *the* (*c*) *ſceptre ſhall not depart from Judah, nor a law-giver from between his feet, until Shiloh come, and unto him ſhall the gathering of the people be. The ſceptre* or *rod* (for the Hebrew ſignifies both) implies here the authority and ſuperiority over the other tribes.

All the ancient Jews have explained this prediction to denote the Meſſiah; the fact is therefore inconteſtable, and is reduced to two eſſential points. The firſt is, that as long as the tribe of Judah ſhall ſubſiſt, it ſhall have pre-eminence and authority over the other tribes: the ſecond, that it ſhall ſubſiſt, and form a body of a republick, governed by its laws and magiſtrates, till the Meſſiah comes.

The firſt point is verified in the ſeries of the hiſtory of the Iſraelites, wherein that pre-eminence of the tribe of Judah appears evidently. This is not the proper place for proofs of this kind; thoſe who would be more fully informed, may conſult the explanation of Geneſis lately publiſhed *.

For the ſecond point, we have only to conſider it with the leaſt attention. When Herod the Idumæan, and in conſequence ſtranger, was placed upon the throne, the authority and ſuperiority, which the tribe of Judah had over the other tribes, were firſt taken



(*c*) Gen. xlix. 10.

* *By F. Babuty Rué St. Jaques.*

from it. The tribe of Judah had no longer the ſupremacy, it was no longer a body ſubſiſting, from which the magiſtrates were taken. It was manifeſt, therefore, that the Meſſiah was come. But at what time did that tribe become like the reſt, and was confounded with them? In the time of Titus Veſpaſian, and Adrian, who finally exterminated the remains of Judah. It was therefore before thoſe times the Meſſiah came.

How wonderful does God appear in the accompliſhment of his prophecies! Would it be making a right uſe of hiſtory, not to dwell a few moments upon facts like this, when we meet them in the courſe of our matter? Herod, reduced to quit Jeruſalem, takes refuge at Rome. He has no thoughts of demanding the ſovereignty for himſelf, but for another. It was the groſſeſt injuſtice to give it to a ſtranger, whilſt there were princes of the royal family in being. But it had been decreed from all eternity, that Herod ſhould be king of the Jews. Heaven and earth ſhould ſooner paſs away, than that decree of God not be fulfilled. Anthony was at Rome, and in poſſeſſion of ſovereign power, when Herod arrives there. How many events were neceſſary to the conducting of things to this point! But is there any thing difficult to the Almighty?

## ARTICLE II.

*Abridgement of the hiſtory of the Parthians, from the eſtabliſhment of that empire to the defeat of* CRASSUS, *which is related at large.*

THE Parthian empire was one of the moſt powerful and moſt conſiderable that ever was in the Eaſt. Very weak in its beginnings, as is common, it extended itſelf by little and little over all Aſia Major, and made even the Romans tremble. Its duration is generally allowed to be four hundred threeſcore and fourteen years; of which two hundred and fifty-four years were before Jeſus Chriſt, and two hundred and twenty after him. Arſaces was the founder of that empire,

empire, from whom all his ſucceſſors were called Arſacides. Artaxerxes, by birth a Perſian, having overcome and ſlain Artabanus, the laſt of thoſe kings, transferred the empire of the Parthians to the Perſians, in the fifth year of the emperor Alexander, the ſon of Mammæus. I ſhall only ſpeak here of the affairs of the Parthians before Jeſus Chriſt, and ſhall treat them very briefly, except the defeat of Craſſus, which I ſhall relate in all its extent.

I have obſerved elſewhere what gave (*a*) Arſaces I. occaſion to make Parthia revolt, and to expel the Macedonians, who had been in poſſeſſion of it from the death of Alexander the Great, and in what manner he had cauſed himſelf to be elected king of the Parthians. Theodotus at the ſame time made Bactria revolt, and took that province from Antiochus, ſurnamed *Theos*. A. M. 3754. Ant. J. C. 250.

Some time after Seleucus Callinicus (*b*), who ſucceeded Antiochus, endeavoured in vain to ſubdue the Parthians. He fell into their hands himſelf, and was made priſoner: this happened in the reign of Tiridates, called otherwiſe Arſaces II. brother of the firſt. A. M. 3768. Ant. J. C. 236.

Antiochus, ſurnamed the Great (*c*), was more ſucceſsful than his predeceſſor. He marched into the Eaſt, and repoſſeſſed himſelf of Media, which the Parthians had taken from him. He alſo entered Parthia, and obliged the * king to retire into Hyrcania, from whence he returned ſoon after with an army of an hundred thouſand foot, and twenty thouſand horſe. As the war was of a tedious duration, Antiochus made a treaty with Arſaces, by which he left him Parthia and Hyrcania, upon condition that he ſhould aſſiſt him in reconquering the revolted provinces. Antiochus marched afterwards againſt Euthydemus king of Bactria, with whom he was alſo obliged to come to an accommodation. A. M. 3792. Ant. J. C. 212.

PRIAPATIUS, the ſon of Arſaces II. ſucceeded his father, A. M. 3798. Ant. J. C. 206.

(*a*) Vol. V. (*b*) Vol. V. (*c*) Vol. V.

* *The Abbe Longuezue, in his Latin Diſſertation upon the Arſacides, aſcribes what is here ſaid to Artabanus, whom he places between Arſaces II. and Priapatius. Juſtin ſays nothing of them.*

father, and after having reigned fifteen years, left the crown at his death to PHRAATES I. his eldeſt ſon.

A. M. 3840. Ant. J. C 164. Phraates left it to MITHRIDATES, whom he preferred before his own iſſue, upon account of his extraordinary merit, and who was in effect one of the greateſt kings the Parthians ever had. He carried his arms farther than Alexander the Great. It was he who made Demetrius Nicator priſoner.

A. M. 3873. Ant. J. C. 131. (*d*) PHRAATES II. ſucceeded Mithridates his father. Antiochus Sidetes, king of Syria, marched againſt him at the head of a powerful army, under pretext of delivering his brother Demetrius, who had been long kept in captivity. After having defeated Phraates in three battles, he was himſelf overthrown, and killed in the laſt, and his army entirely cut to pieces. Phraates, in his turn, at the time he had formed the deſign of invading Syria, was attacked by the Scythians, and loſt his life in a battle.

A. M. 3875. Ant. J. C. 129. ARTABANUS his uncle reigned in his ſtead, and died ſoon after.

His ſucceſſor was MITHRIDATES II. of whom Juſtin ſays (*e*), that his great actions acquired him the ſurname of *Great*.

He declared war againſt the Armenians, and by a treaty of peace, which he made with them, he obliged their king to ſend him his ſon Tigranes as an hoſtage.

A. M. 3909. The latter was afterwards ſet upon the throne of Armenia by the Parthians themſelves, and joined with Mithridates, king of Pontus, in the war againſt the Romans.

A. M. 3912. Antiochus Euſebes took refuge with Mithridates, who re-eſtabliſhed him in the poſſeſſion of part of the kingdom of Syria two years after.

A. M. 3914. Ant. J. C. 90. It was the ſame Mithridates, as we ſhall ſee hereafter, who ſent Orobazus to Sylla, to demand the amity and alliance of the Romans, and who cauſed him to be put to death on his return, for having given place to Sylla.

A. M. 3915. Ant. J. C. 89. Demetrius Eucerus (*f*), who reigned at Damaſcus, beſieging

(*d*) Juſtin. l. xviii. c. 3. (*e*) Ibid. p. 115.
(*f*) Joſeph. Antiq. xiii. 22.

beſieging Philip his brother in the city of Bærea, was defeated and taken by the Parthian troops ſent to the aid of Philip, and carried priſoner to Mithridates, who treated him with all the honours poſſible. He died there of diſeaſe.

Mithridates II. died (*g*), after having reigned forty years, generally regretted by his ſubjects. The domeſtick troubles, with which his death was followed, conſiderably weakened the Parthian empire, and made his loſs ſtill more ſenſible. Tigranes re-entered upon all the provinces he had given up to the Parthians, and took ſeveral others from them. He paſſed the Euphrates, and made himſelf maſter of Syria, and Phœnicia. A. M. 3915. Ant. J. C. 89.

During theſe troubles, the Parthians elected MNASKIRES, and after him SINATROCCES, kings, of whom almoſt nothing more is known than their names.

PHRAATES, the ſon of the latter, was he, who cauſed himſelf to be ſurnamed THE GOD. A. M. 3935. Ant. J. C. 69.

He ſent ambaſſadors to Lucullus, after the great victory the Romans had obtained over Tigranes. He held at the ſame time ſecret intelligence with the latter. It was at that time Mithridates wrote him the letter, which Salluſt has preſerved.

Pompey having been appointed, in the place of Lucullus, to terminate the war againſt Mithridates, engaged Phraates in the party of the Romans. A. M. 3938. Ant. J. C. 66.

The latter joins Tigranes the younger againſt his father, and breaks with Pompey.

After Pompey's return to Rome, Phraates is killed by his own children. MITHRIDATES his eldeſt ſon takes his place. A. M. 3948. Ant. J. C. 56.

Tigranes, king of Armenia, dies almoſt at the ſame time. Artavaſdes his ſon ſucceeds him.

Mithridates (*b*), expelled his kingdom either by his own ſubjects, to whom he had rendered himſelf odious, or by the ambition of his brother Orodes, applies to Gabinius, who commanded in Syria, to reeſtabliſh

(*g*) Strab. l. xi. p. 532. Plut. in Lucul. p. 500, &c.
(*b*) Juſtin. l. xlii. c. 4.

eſtabliſh him upon the throne; but without effect.
A. M. 3949. Ant. J. C. 55. He takes up arms in his own defence. Beſieged in Babylon, and warmly preſſed, he ſurrenders to Orodes, who conſidering him only as an enemy, and not a brother, cauſes him to be put to death; by which means Orodes becomes peaceable poſſeſſor of the throne.

A. M. 3950. Ant. J. C. 54. But he found enough to employ him abroad (*i*), that he had no reaſon to expect. Craſſus had lately been created conſul at Rome, with Pompey for the ſecond time. On the partition of the provinces, Syria fell to Craſſus, who was exceedingly rejoiced upon that account; becauſe it favoured the deſign he had formed of carrying the war into Parthia. When he was in company, even with people he ſcarce knew, he could not moderate his tranſports. Amongſt his friends, with whom he was under leſs reſtraint, he ran even into rhodomontades unworthy of his age and character, and ſeemed to forget himſelf in a ſtrange manner. He did not confine his views to the government of Syria, nor to the conqueſt of ſome neighbouring provinces, nor even to that of Parthia: He flattered himſelf with doing ſuch things, as ſhould make the great exploits of Lucullus againſt Tigranes, and thoſe of Pompey againſt Mithridates, appear like the feats of infants in compariſon with his. He had already over-run in thought Bactria and the Indias, and penetrated as far as the remoteſt ſeas, and the extremities of the Eaſt. However, in the inſtructions and powers which were given him, Parthia was in no manner included: but all the world knew his deſign againſt it was his darling paſſion. Such a beginning forebodes no ſucceſs.

His departure had beſides ſomething more inauſpicious in it. One of the tribunes, named Ateius, threatened to oppoſe his going; and was joined by many people, who could not ſuffer him to ſet out with gaiety of heart, to carry a war againſt a people who had done the Romans no injury, and were their friends and allies. That tribune, in conſequence, having in vain oppoſed the

(*i*) Plut. in Craſſ. p. 552, 554.

the departure of Craſſus, made haſte to the gate of the city through which he was to paſs, and ſet a cauldron full of fire before him. When Craſſus came to the place, he threw perfumes, and poured libations into the pan uttering over them the moſt terrible imprecations, which could not be heard without making all preſent tremble with horrour, and of which the misfortunes of Craſſus have been regarded by many writers as the accompliſhment.

Nothing could ſtop him. Superior to all oppoſition, he continued his march, arrived at Brunduſium, and though the ſea was very tempeſtuous, embarked, and loſt abundance of ſhips in his paſſage. When he arrived at Galatia, he had an interview with king Dejotarus, who, though of a very advanced age, was at that time employed in building a new city. Upon which Craſſus rallied him to this effect, *King of the Galatians, you begin full late to build a city at the* twelfth hour of the day. And you, Lord Craſſus*, replied Dejotarus, *are not too early in ſetting out to make war againſt the Parthians.* For Craſſus was at that time upwards of ſixty years old, and his countenance made him ſtill look older than he was.

He had been informed, (*k*) that there were conſiderable treaſures in the temple of Jeruſalem, which Pompey had not ventured to touch. He believed it worth his trouble to go a little out of his way to make himſelf maſter of them. He therefore marched thither with his army. Beſides the other riches, which amounted to very conſiderable ſums, in it there was a beam of gold, incloſed and concealed in another of wood made hollow for that uſe: this was known only by Eleazar the prieſt, who kept the treaſures of the ſanctuary. This beam of gold weighed three hundred minæ, each of which weighed two pounds and a half. Eleazar, who was appriſed of the motive of Craſſus's march to Jeruſalem, to ſave the other riches, which were almoſt all of them depoſited in the temple by

(*k*) Joſeph. Antiq. xiv. 12.

* *The twelfth hour was the end of the day.*

by private perſons, diſcovered the golden beam to Craſſus, and ſuffered him to take it away, after having made him take an oath not to meddle with the reſt. Was he ſo ignorant to imagine any thing ſacred with avarice? Craſſus took the beam of gold, and notwithſtanding made the reſt of the treaſures his plunder, which amounted to about fifteen hundred thouſand pounds ſterling. He then continued his rout.

Every thing ſucceeded at firſt as happily as he could have expected. He built a bridge over the Euphrates without any oppoſition, paſſed it with his army, and entered the Parthian territories. He invaded them without any other real motive for the war, than the inſatiable deſire of enriching himſelf by the plunder of a country which was ſuppoſed to be extremely opulent. The Romans under Sylla, and afterwards under Pompey, had made peace and ſeveral treaties with them. There had been no complaint of any infraction or enterpriſe to give a juſt pretext for a war. So that the Parthians expected nothing leſs than ſuch an invaſion, and not being upon their guard, had made no preparations for their defence. Craſſus in conſequence was maſter of the field, and over-run without oppoſition the greateſt part of Meſopotamia. He took alſo ſeveral cities with no reſiſtance, and had he known how to take advantage of the occaſion, it had been eaſy for him to have penetrated as far as Seleucia and Cteſiphon, to have ſeiſed them, and made himſelf maſter of all Babylonia, as he had done of Meſopotamia. But inſtead of purſuing his point, in the beginning of autumn, after having left ſeven thouſand foot and a thouſand horſe to ſecure the cities which had ſurrendered to him, he repaſſed the Euphrates, and puts his troops into winter-quarters in the cities of Syria, where his ſole employment was to amaſs money, and to plunder temples.

He was joined there by his ſon, whom Cæſar ſent to him out of Gaul, a young man who had already been honoured with ſeveral of the military crowns, given by the general to ſuch as diſtinguiſhed themſelves by their valour.

valour. He brought with him a thouſand choſen horſe.

Of all the faults committed by Craſſus in this expedition, which were very conſiderable, the greateſt undoubtedly, after that of having undertaken this war, was his haſty return into Syria. For he ought to have gone on without ſtaying, and to have ſeiſed Babylon and Seleucia, cities always at enmity with the Parthians, inſtead of giving his enemies time to make preparations by his retreat, which was the cauſe of his ruin.

Whilſt he was re-aſſembling all his troops from their winter-quarters, ambaſſadors from the king of Parthia arrived, who opened their commiſſions in few words. They told him that if that army was ſent by the Romans againſt the Parthians, the war could not be terminated by any treaty of peace, and could only be brought to a concluſion by the final ruin of the one or the other empire. That if, as they had been informed, it was only Craſſus, who, againſt the opinion of his country, and to ſatiate his private avarice, had taken arms againſt them, and entered one of the provinces, the king their maſter was well diſpoſed to act with moderation in the affair, to take pity of the age of Craſſus, and to ſuffer the Romans in his dominions, rather ſhut up than keeping poſſeſſion of cities, to depart with their lives and rings ſafe. They ſpoke no doubt of the garriſons left by Craſſus in the conquered places. Craſſus anſwered this diſcourſe only with a rhodomontade. He told them, *They ſhould have his anſwer in the city of Seleucia.* Upon which the moſt ancient of the ambaſſadors, named Vahiſes, made anſwer, laughing, and ſhowing him the palm of his hand; *Craſſus, you will ſooner ſee hair grow in the palm of my hand, than Seleucia.* The ambaſſadours retired, and went to give their king notice, that he muſt prepare for war.

As ſoon as the ſeaſon would permit (*l*), Craſſus took the field. The Parthians had time, during the winter, to aſſemble a very great army, to make head againſt him, A. M. 3951. Ant. J. C. 53.

(*l*) Plut. in Craſſ. p. 354.

him. Orodes their king divided his troops, and marched in perſon with one part of them to the frontiers of Armenia: He ſent the other into Meſopotamia, under the command of Surena. That general, upon his arrival there, retook ſeveral of the places Craſſus had made himſelf maſter of the year before.

About the ſame time ſome Roman ſoldiers, who with exceeding difficulty had eſcaped out of the cities of Meſopotamia, where they had been in garriſon, of which the Parthians had already retaken ſome, and were beſieging the reſt, came to Craſſus, and related things to him highly capable of diſquieting and alarming him. They told him, that they had ſeen with their own eyes the incredible numbers of the enemy, and that they had alſo been witneſſes of their terrible valour in the bloody attacks of the cities they beſieged. They added, that they were troops not to be eſcaped when they purſued, nor overtaken when they fled; that their arrows, of a weight, and at the ſame time of an aſtoniſhing rapidity, were always attended with mortal wounds, againſt which it was impoſſible to defend.

The diſcourſe infinitely abated the courage and boldneſs of the Roman ſoldiers; who imagined, that the Parthians differed in nothing from the Armenians and Cappadocians, that Lucullus had ſo eaſily overthrown; and flattered themſelves, that the whole difficulty of the war would conſiſt in the length of the way, and the purſuit of the enemy, who would never dare to come to blows with them. They now ſaw, contrary to their expectation, that they were to experience great battles and great dangers. This diſcouragement roſe ſo high, that many of the principal officers were of opinion, that it was neceſſary for Craſſus, before he advanced farther, to aſſemble a council, in order to deliberate again upon the whole enterpriſe. But Craſſus liſtened to no other advice, but of thoſe who preſſed him to begin his march, and to make all poſſible expedition.

What encouraged him the moſt, and confirmed him in that reſolution, was the arrival of Artabaſus, king of

of Armenia. He brought with him a body of ſix thouſand horſe, which were part of his guards; adding that beſides theſe, he had ten thouſand cuiraſſiers, and thirty thouſand foot at his ſervice. But he adviſed him to take great care not to march his army into the plains of Meſopotamia, and told him, that he muſt enter the enemy's country by the way of Armenia; the reaſons with which he ſupported this advice, were, that Armenia, being a mountainous country, the Parthian horſe, in which the greateſt ſtrength of their army conſiſted, would be rendered entirely uſeleſs to them: that if they took this rout he ſhould be in a condition to ſupply the army with all neceſſaries; inſtead of which, if he marched by the way of Meſopotamia, convoys would be deficient, and he would have a powerful army in his front on all the marches it would be neceſſary for him take, before he could penetrate to the centre of the enemy's dominions; that in thoſe plains, the horſe would have all poſſible advantages againſt him; and, laſtly, that he muſt croſs ſeveral ſandy deſarts, where the troops might be in great diſtreſs for want of water and proviſions. The counſel was excellent, and the reaſons unanſwerable: but Craſſus, blinded by Providence, which intended to puniſh the ſacrilege he had committed in plundering the temple of Jeruſalem, deſpiſed all that was ſaid to him. He only deſired Artabaſus, who returned into his dominions, to bring him his troops as ſoon as poſſible.

I have ſaid, that Providence blinded Craſſus, which is ſelf-evident in a great meaſure. But a Pagan writer makes the ſame remark upon it; this is Dion Caſſius, a very judicious hiſtorian, and at the ſame time a warrior. He ſays, that the Romans under Craſſus "had "no ſalutary view, and were either ignorant upon all "occaſions of what was neceſſary to be done, or in "no condition to execute it; ſo that one would have "thought, that, condemned and purſued by ſome "divinity, they could neither make uſe of their bodies "nor minds." That Divinity was unknown to Dion.

It was He whom the Jewiſh nation adored, and who avenged the injury done to his temple.

Craſſus made haſte therefore to ſet forward. He had ſeven legions of foot, near four thouſand horſe, and as many light-armed ſoldiers and archers, which amounted in all to more than forty thouſand men, that is to ſay, one of the fineſt armies the Romans ever ſet on foot. When his troops paſſed the bridge he had laid over the river Euphrates, near the city of Zeugma a dreadful ſtorm of thunder and lightning drove in the face of the ſoldiers, as if to prevent them from going on. At the ſame time a black cloud, out of which burſt an impetuous whirlwind, attended with thunder-claps and lightning, fell upon the bridge, and broke down a part of it. The troops were ſeiſed with fear and ſadneſs. He endeavoured to re-animate them in the beſt manner he was able, promiſing them with an oath, that they ſhould march back by the way of Armenia; and concluding his diſcourſe with aſſuring them, that not one of them ſhould return that way. Thoſe laſt words, which were ambiguous, and had eſcaped him very imprudently, threw the whole army into the greateſt trouble and diſmay. Craſſus well knew the bad effect they had produced; but out of a ſpirit of obſtinacy and haughtineſs, he neglected to remedy it by explaining the ſenſe of thoſe words, to re-aſſure the timorous,

He made his troops advance along the Euphrates. His ſcouts, whom he had ſent out for intelligence, returned, and reported, that there was not a ſingle man to be ſeen in the country, but that they had found the marks of abundance of horſe, which ſeemed to have fled ſuddenly, as if they had been purſued.

Upon this advice, Craſſus confirmed himſelf in his hopes, and his ſoldiers began to deſpiſe the Parthians, as men that would never have courage to ſtand a charge, and come to blows with them. Caſſius adviſed him at leaſt to approach ſome town, where they had a garriſon, in order to reſt the army a little, and have time to learn the true number of the enemies, their force,

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and what deſigns they had in view; or if Craſſus did not approve that counſel, to march along the Euphrates towards Seleucia; becauſe by always keeping upon the coaſt of that river, he would put it out of the power of the Parthians to ſurround him; and that with the fleet which might follow him, proviſions might be always brought from Syria, and all other things of which the army might ſtand in need. This Caſſius was Craſſus's queſtor, and the ſame who afterwards killed Cæſar.

Craſſus, after having conſidered this advice, was upon the point of coming into it, when a chief of the Arabians, named Ariamnes, came in unexpectedly, and had the addreſs to make him approve a quite different plan. That Arab had formerly ſerved under Pompey, and was known by many of the Roman ſoldiers, who looked upon him as a friend. Surena found him entirely qualified to play the part he gave him. Accordingly, when he was conducted to Craſſus, he informed him, that the Parthians would not look the Roman army in the face; that its name alone had already ſpread an univerſal terrour among their troops, and that there wanted no more for the obtaining a complete victory, than to march directly up to them, and give them battle. He offered to be their guide himſelf, and to carry them the ſhorteſt way. Craſſus, blinded by his flattery, and deceived by a man who knew how to give a ſpecious turn to what he propoſed, gave entirely into the ſnare, notwithſtanding the preſſing inſtances of Caſſius, and ſome others, who ſuſpected that impoſtor's deſign.

Craſſus would hearken to nobody. The traitor Ariamnes, after having perſuaded him to draw off from the banks of the Euphrates, conducted him acroſs the plain by a way at firſt level and eaſy, but which at length became difficult from the deep ſands, on which the army found itſelf engaged in the midſt of a vaſt country all bare, and of a frightful drineſs, where the eye could diſcover neither end or boundary, nor the troops hope to find reſt and refreſhment. If thirſt,

and the fatigue of the way, diſcouraged the Romans, the proſpect of the country alone threw them into a deſpair ſtill more terrible: for they could perceive neither near them, nor at a diſtance, the leaſt tree, plant, or brook; not ſo much as an hill, nor a ſingle blade of graſs; nothing was to be ſeen all round but heaps of burning ſand.

This gave juſt reaſon to ſuſpect ſome treachery, of which the arrival of couriers from Artabaſus ought to have fully convinced them. That prince informed Craſſus, that king Orodes had invaded his dominions with a great army; that the war he had to ſupport, prevented him from ſending the aid he had promiſed; but that he adviſed him to approach Armenia, in order to their uniting their forces againſt the common enemy: that, if he would not follow that advice, he cautioned him at leaſt to avoid, in his marches and encampments, the open plains, and ſuch places as were commodious for the horſe, and to keep always cloſe to the mountains. Craſſus, inſtead of giving ear to theſe wiſe counſels, flew out againſt them that gave them; and without vouchſafing to write an anſwer to Artabaſus, he only told his couriers, "I have not time at "preſent to conſider the affairs of Armenia: I ſhall "go thither ſoon, and ſhall then puniſh Artabaſus for "his treachery."

Craſſus was ſo full of his Arab, and ſo blinded by his artful ſuggeſtions, that he had continued to follow him without the leaſt diſtruſt, notwithſtanding all the advice that was given him, till he had brought him a great way into the ſandy deſart we have mentioned. The traitor then made his eſcape, and gave Surena an account of what he had done.

After a march of ſome days in a deſart of the enemy's country where it was difficult to have any intelligence, the ſcouts came in full ſpeed to inform Craſſus, that a very numerous army of the Parthians advanced with great order and boldneſs to attack him immediately. That news threw the whole camp into great trouble and conſternation. Craſſus was more affected with it than the

the reſt. He made all poſſible haſte to draw up his army in battle. At firſt, following the advice of Caſſius, he extended his infantry as far as he could, that it might take up the more ground, and make it difficult for the enemy to ſurround him; he poſted all his cavalry upon the wings. But afterwards he changed his opinion, and drawing up his foot in cloſe order, he made them form a large hollow ſquare, facing on all ſides, of which each flank had twelve * cohorts in front. Every cohort had a company of horſe near it, in order that each part, being equally ſuſtained by the cavalry, the whole body might charge with greater ſecurity and boldneſs. He gave one of the wings to Caſſius, the other to his young ſon Craſſus, and poſted himſelf in the centre.

They advanced in this order to the banks of a brook which had not much water, but was however exceedingly grateful to the ſoldiers, from the exceeding drought and exceſſive heat.

Moſt of the officers were of opinion, that it was proper to encamp in this place, to give the troops time to recover the extraordinary fatigues they had undergone in a long and painful march, and to reſt there during the night; that in the mean time, all poſſible endeavours ſhould be uſed to get intelligence of the enemy, and that when their number and diſpoſition were known, they might attack them the next day. But Craſſus ſuffering himſelf to be carried away by the ardour of his ſon, and of the horſe under his command, who preſſed him to lead them againſt the enemy, gave orders, that all who had occaſion for refreſhment ſhould eat under arms in their ranks; and ſcarce allowing them time for that purpoſe, he commanded them to march, and lead them on, not ſlowly, and halting ſometimes, but with rapidity, and as faſt as they could move, till they came in view of the enemy. Contrary to their expectation, they did not appear either ſo numerous or ſo terrible,



* *The Roman cohort was a body of infantry conſiſting of five or ſix hundred men; and differed very little from what is now called a battalion.*

as they had been repreſented, which was a ſtratagem of Surena's. He had concealed the greateſt part of his battalions behind the advanced troops, and to prevent their being perceived by the brightneſs of their arms, he had given them orders to cover themſelves with their veſts or with ſkins.

When they approached, and were ready to charge, the Parthian general had no ſooner given the ſignal of battle, than the whole field reſounded with dreadful cries, and the moſt frightful noiſe. For the Parthians did not excite their troops to battle with horns or trumpets, but made uſe of a great number of hollow inſtruments, covered with leather, and having bells of braſs round them, which they ſtruck violently againſt each other, the noiſe made by theſe inſtruments was rude and terrible, and ſeemed like the roaring of wild beaſts, joined with claps of thunder. Thoſe Barbarians had well obſerved, that of all the ſenſes none diſorders the ſoul more than the hearing: that it ſtrikes upon, and affects it the moſt immediately, and is the moſt ſudden in making it in a manner change its nature.

The trouble and diſmay into which this noiſe had caſt the Romans, were quite different, when the Parthians, throwing off on a ſudden the covering of their arms, appeared all on fire, from the exceeding brightneſs of their helmets and cuiraſſes, which were of burning ſteel, and glittered like ſun-beams, and to which the furniture and armour of their horſes added not a little. At their head appeared Surena, handſome, well-made, of an advantageous ſtature, and of a much greater reputation for valour than the effeminacy of his mien ſeemed to promiſe. For he painted after the faſhion of the Medes, and, like them, wore his hair curled and dreſſed with art; whereas the Parthians ſtill perſevered in wearing theirs after the manner of the Scythians, much neglected, and ſuch as nature gave them, in order to appear more terrible.

At firſt the Barbarians were for charging the Romans with their pikes, and endeavoured to penetrate

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and break the front ranks; but having obſerved the depth of the hollow ſquare, ſo well cloſed, and even, in which the troops ſtood firm and ſupported each other ſucceſsfully, they fell back, and retired in a ſeeming confuſion, as if their order of battle were broke. But the Romans were much aſtoniſhed to ſee their whole army ſurrounded on all ſides. Craſſus immediately gave orders for his archers and light-armed foot to charge them; but they could not execute thoſe orders long; for they were reduced by an hail of arrows to retire, and cover themſelves behind their heavy-armed foot.

Their diſorder and diſmay began now, upon experiencing the rapidity and force of thoſe arrows, againſt which no armour was proof, and which penetrated alike whatever they hit. The Parthians dividing, applied themſelves to ſhooting at a diſtance, without its being poſſible for them to miſs, tho' they had endeavoured it, ſo cloſe were the Romans embattled. They did dreadful execution, and made deep wounds, becauſe drawing their bows to the utmoſt, the ſtrings diſcharged their arrows of an extraordinary weight, with an impetuoſity and force that nothing could reſiſt.

The Romans, attacked in this manner on all ſides by the enemy, knew not in what manner to act. If they continued firm in their ranks, they were wounded mortally, and if they quitted them to charge the enemy, they could do them no hurt, and ſuffered no leſs than before. The Parthians fled before them, and kept a continual diſcharge as they retired; for of all nations in the world they were the moſt expert in that exerciſe after the Scythians: an operation in reality very wiſely conceived; for in flying they ſaved their lives, and in fighting avoided the infamy of flight.

As long as the Romans had hopes, that the Barbarians, after having exhauſted all their arrows, would either give over the fight, or come to blows with them hand to hand, they ſupported their diſtreſs with valour

and reſolution; but when they perceived that in the rear of the enemy, there were camels laden with arrows, whither thoſe, who had exhauſted their quivers, wheeled about to repleniſh them. Craſſus, loſing almoſt all courage, ſent orders to his ſon to endeavour, whatever it coſt him, to join the enemy, before he was entirely ſurrounded by them; for they were principally intent againſt him, and were wheeling about to take him in the rear.

Young Craſſus, therefore, at the head of thirteen hundred horſe, five hundred archers, and * eight cohorts armed with round bucklers, wheeled about againſt thoſe who endeavoured to ſurround him. The latter whether they were afraid to ſtand before a body of troops that came on with ſo good an aſpect, or rather deſigned to draw off young Craſſus, as far as they could from his father, immediately faced about and fled. Young Craſſus upon that, crying out as loud as he could, *They don't ſtand us*, puſhed on full ſpeed after them. The foot, animated by the example of the horſe, piqued themſelves upon not ſtaying behind, and followed them at their heels, carried on by their eagerneſs, and the joy which the hopes of victory gave them. They firmly believed they had conquered, and had nothing to do but to purſue, till being at a great diſtance from the main body, they diſcovered their error; for thoſe, who had ſeemed to fly, faced about, and being joined by many other troops, came on to charge the Romans.

Young Craſſus thereupon made his troops halt, in hopes that the enemy, upon ſeeing their ſmall number, would not fail to attack them, and come to cloſe fight. But thoſe Barbarians contented themſelves with oppoſing him in front with their heavy armed horſe, and ſent out detachments of their light horſe, that wheeling about, and ſurrounding them on all ſides without joining them, poured in a perpetual flight of arrows upon them. At the ſame time, by ſtirring up the heaps of ſand, they raiſed ſo thick a duſt, that the Romans

* *They conſiſted of near ſix thouſand men.*

Romans could neither ſee nor ſpeak to one another; and by being pent up in a narrow ſpace, and keeping cloſe order, they were a kind of butt for every arrow ſhot at them, and died by ſlow, but cruel deaths. For finding their entrails pierced, and not being able to ſupport the pains they ſuffered, they rolled themſelves upon the ſands with the arrows in their bodies, and expired in that manner in exquiſite torments; or endeavouring to tear out by force the bearded points of the arrows, which had penetrated acroſs their veins and nerves, they only made their wounds the larger, and increaſed their pains.

Moſt of them died in this manner; and thoſe who were ſtill alive, were no longer in any condition to act. For when young Craſſus exhorted them to charge the heavy-armed horſe, they ſhowed him their hands nailed to their bucklers, and their feet pierced through and through, and rivetted to the ground; ſo that it was equally impoſſible for them either to defend themſelves, or fly. Putting himſelf therefore at the head of his horſe, he made a vigorous charge upon that heavy-armed body covered with iron, and threw himſelf boldly amongſt the ſquadrons, but with great diſadvantage, as well in attacking as defending. For his troops, with weak and ſhort javelins, ſtruck againſt armour either of excellent ſteel, or very hard leather; whereas the Barbarians charged the Gauls, who were either naked or lightly armed, with good and ſtrong ſpears. Theſe Gauls were troops in whom young Craſſus placed the greateſt confidence, and with whom he did moſt wonderful exploits. For thoſe troops took hold of the ſpears of the Parthians, and cloſing with them, ſeiſed them by the neck, and threw them off their horſes upon the ground, where they lay without power to ſtir, from the exceeding weight of their arms. Several of the Gauls quitting their horſes, crept under thoſe of the enemy, and thruſt their ſwords into their bellies. The horſes, wild with the pain, leaped and reared, and throwing off their riders, trampled them under

under foot as well as the enemy, and fell dead upon both.

But what gave the Gauls moſt trouble, was heat and thirſt; for they were not accuſtomed to ſupport them. They loſt all the greateſt part of their horſes, which running precipitately upon that heavy-armed body, killed themſelves upon their ſpears. They were obliged therefore to retire to their infantry, and to carry off young Craſſus, who had received ſeveral dangerous wounds.

Upon their way they ſaw, at a ſmall diſtance, a riſing bank of ſand, to which they retired. They faſtened their horſes in the centre, and made an enclоſure with their bucklers, by way of entrenchment; in hopes that it would aſſiſt them conſiderably in defending themſelves againſt the Barbarians; but it happened quite otherwiſe. For in an even place, the front covered the rear, and gave it ſome relaxation; whereas upon this hill, the inequality of the ground ſhowing them over each other's heads, and thoſe in the rear moſt, they were all expoſed to the enemy's ſhot. So that, unable to avoid the arrows, which the Barbarians ſhowered continually upon them, they were all equally the marks of them, and deplored their unhappy deſtiny, in periſhing miſerably, without being able to make uſe of their arms, or to give the enemy proofs of their valour.

Young Craſſus had two Greeks with him, who had ſettled in that country in the city of Carræ. Thoſe two young men, touched with compaſſion to ſee him in ſo ſad a condition, preſſed him to make off with them, and to retire into the city of Iſchnes, which had eſpouſed the party of the Romans, and was not very remote. But he replied, *That the fear of no death, however cruel, could induce him to abandon ſo many brave men, who died out of love for him.* A noble ſentiment for a young lord! He ordered them to make off as faſt as they could, and embracing them, diſmiſſed them the ſervice. For himſelf, not being able to make uſe of his hand, which was ſhot through

with an arrow, he commanded one of his domeſticks to thruſt his ſword through him, and preſented his ſide to him. The principal officers killed themſelves, and many of thoſe that remained were ſlain, fighting with exceeding valour. The Parthians made only about five hundred priſoners, and after having cut off young Craſſus's head, marched immediately againſt his father.

The latter, after having ordered his ſon to charge the Parthians, and received advice, that they were put to the rout, and purſued vigorouſly, had reſumed ſome courage, and the more, becauſe thoſe who oppoſed him, ſeemed to abate conſiderably of their ardour; for the greateſt part of them were gone with the reſt againſt young Craſſus. Wherefore, drawing his army together, he retired to a ſmall hill in his rear, in hopes that his ſon would ſpeedily return from the purſuit.

Of a great number of officers, ſent ſucceſſively by his ſon to inform him of the danger he was in, the greateſt part had fallen into the hands of the Barbarians, who had put them to the ſword. Only the laſt, who had eſcaped with great difficulty, got to his preſence, and declared to him, that his ſon was loſt, if he did not ſend him directly a powerful re-inforcement. Upon this news, Craſſus was ſtruck with ſuch a diverſity of afflicting thoughts, and his reaſon thereby ſo much diſturbed, that he was no longer capable of ſeeing or hearing any thing. However, the deſire of ſaving his ſon and the army, determined him to go to his aid, and he ordered the troops to march.

The Parthians, who returned from the defeat of young Craſſus, arrived that moment with great cries and ſongs of victory, which from far appriſed the unfortunate father of his misfortune. The Barbarians, carrying the head of young Craſſus upon the end of a ſpear, approached the Romans, and inſulting them with the moſt ſcornful bravadoes, they aſked them of what family and relations that young Roman

Roman was: *For*, ſaid they, *it is impoſſible that a young man of ſuch extraordinary valour and bravery ſhould be the ſon of ſo baſe and cowardly a father as Craſſus.*

This ſight exceedingly diſpirited the Romans, and inſtead of exciting the height of anger, and the deſire of revenge in them, ſtroze them with terror and diſmay. Craſſus, however, ſhowed more conſtancy and courage on his diſgrace, than he had done before; and running through the ranks he cried out, "Romans, this mourning regards only me. The fortune and glory of Rome are ſtill invulnerable and invincible, whilſt you continue firm and intrepid. If you have any compaſſion for a father, who has juſt now loſt a ſon, whoſe valour you admired, let it appear in your rage and reſentment againſt the Barbarians. Deprive them of their inſolent joy, puniſh their cruelty, and do not ſuffer yourſelves to be caſt down by my misfortune. There is a neceſſity for experiencing ſome loſs, when we aſpire at great achievements. Lucullus did not defeat Tigranes, nor Scipio, Antiochus, without coſting them ſome blood. It is after the greateſt defeats that Rome has acquired the greateſt victories. It is not by the favour of fortune ſhe has attained to ſo high a degree of power, but by her patience and fortitude in ſupporting herſelf with vigour againſt adverſity."

Craſſus endeavoured by remonſtrances of this kind to re-animate his troops: but when he had given them orders to raiſe the cry of battle, he perceived the general diſcouragement of his army, even in that cry itſelf, which was faint, unequal, and timorous; whereas that of the enemy was bold, full, and ſtrenuous.

The charge being given in conſequence, the light-horſe of the Parthians diſperſed themſelves upon the wings of the Romans, and taking them in flank, diſtreſſed them extremely with their arrows, whilſt the heavy cavalvy attacked them in front, and obliged them

them to close up in one great body; except those, who, to avoid the arrows, of which the wounds occasioned a long and painful death, had the courage to throw themselves upon the horse, like men in despair. Though they did not do them much hurt, their audacity was attended with this advantage; it occasioned their dying immediately, by the large and deep wounds they received. For the Barbarians thrust their lances through their bodies with such force and vigour, that they often killed two at once.

After having fought in that manner the remainder of the day, upon night's coming on, the Barbarians retired; saying, they would grant Crassus only that night to lament for his son, unless he should find it more expedient to consult his own safety, and prefer going voluntarily to being dragged to their king Arsaces. They then encamped in the presence of the Roman army, in the firm expectation, that the next day they should meet with little or no difficulty in completing its defeat.

This was a terrible night for the Romans. They had no thoughts either of interring their dead, or of dressing their wounded, of whom the greatest part died in the most horrible torments. Every man was solely intent upon his particular distress. For they all saw plainly, that they could not escape, whether they waited for day in camp, or ventured, during the night, to throw themselves into that immense plain, of which they saw no end. Besides which, in the latter choice, their wounded gave them great trouble. For to carry them off, would be very difficult, and extremely retard their flight; and if they were left behind, it was not to be doubted but they would discover the departure of the army by their cries and lamentations.

Though they were perfectly sensible, that Crassus alone was the cause of all their misfortunes, they however were unanimous in desiring to see his face, and to hear his voice. But for him, lying upon the ground, in an obscure corner, with his head covered

covered in his cloak, he was to the vulgar, ſays Plutarch, a great example of the inſtability of fortune; to wiſe and conſiderate perſons, a ſtill greater of the pernicious effects of temerity and ambition, which had blinded him to ſuch a degree, that he could not bear to be leſs at Rome than the firſt of ſo many millions of men, and thought himſelf low and mean, becauſe there were two above him, Cæſar and Pompey.

Octavius, one of his lieutenants, and Caſſius approached him, and endeavoured to make him riſe, and to conſole and encourage him. But ſeeing him entirely depreſſed by the weight of his affliction, and deaf to all conſolation and remonſtrance, they aſſembled the principal officers, and held a council of war directly; and it being their unanimous opinion, that it was neceſſary to retire immediately, they decamped without ſound of trumpet. This was done at firſt with great ſilence. But ſoon after the ſick and wounded, who could not follow, perceiving themſelves abandoned, filled the camp with tumult and confuſion, cries, ſhrieks, and horrible lamentations; ſo that the troops, who marched foremoſt, were ſeiſed with trouble and terror, imagining the enemy were coming on to attack them. By frequently turning back, and drawing up in battle, or buſying themſelves in ſetting the wounded who followed them upon the beaſts of carriage, and in diſmounting ſuch as were leſs ſick, they loſt abundance of time. There were only three hundred horſe, under the command of Ignatius, who did not ſtop, and arrived about midnight at the city of Carræ. Ignatius called to the ſentinels upon the walls, and when they anſwered, bade them go to Coponius, who commanded in the place, and tell him that Craſſus had fought a great battle with the Parthians; and without ſaying any more, or letting them know who he was, he puſhed on with all poſſible expedition to the bridge Craſſus had laid over the Euphrates, and ſaved his troops by that means.

means. But he was very much blamed for having abandoned his general.

However, the meſſage he had ſent to Coponius by thoſe guards, was of great ſervice to Craſſus. For that governor, wiſely conjecturing from the manner in which the unknown perſon had given him that intelligence, that it implied ſome diſaſter, gave orders immediately for the garriſon to ſtand to their arms. And when he was informed of the way Craſſus had taken he marched out to meet him, and conducted him and his army into the city. The Parthians, though well informed of his flight, would not purſue him in the dark. But the next day early entered the camp, and put all the wounded, who had been left there, to the number of four thouſand, to the ſword; and their cavalry being diſperſed over the plain after thoſe who fled, took abundance of them, whom they found ſtraggling on all ſides.

One of Craſſus's lieutenants, named Vargunteius, having ſeparated in the night from the groſs of the army with four cohorts, miſſed his way, and was found the next morning upon a ſmall eminence by the Barbarians, who attacked him. He defended himſelf with great valour, but was at length overpowered by multitudes, and all his ſoldiers killed, except twenty, who, with ſword in hand, fell on the enemy in deſpair, in order to open themſelves a paſſage through them. The Barbarians were ſo much aſtoniſhed at their bravery, that out of admiration of it, they opened, and gave them a paſſage. They arrived ſafe at Carræ.

At the ſame time Surena received falſe advice, that Craſſus had eſcaped with the beſt of his troops, and that thoſe who had retired to Carræ, were only a militia, that were not worth the trouble of purſuing. Surena, believing the reward of his victory loſt, but ſtill uncertain whether it were or not, deſired to be better informed, in order to his reſolving either to beſiege Carræ, if Craſſus was there, or to purſue him if he had quitted it. He therefore diſpatched one of his

his interpreters, who ſpoke both languages perfectly well, with orders to approach the walls of Carræ, and in the Roman language to deſire to ſpeak with Craſſus himſelf or Caſſius, and to ſay, That Surena demanded a conference with them.

The interpreter having executed his orders, Craſſus accepted the propoſal with joy. Soon after ſome Arabian ſoldiers came from the Barbarians, who knew Craſſus and Caſſius by ſight, from having ſeen them in the camp before the battle. Thoſe ſoldiers approached the place, and ſeeing Caſſius upon the walls, they told him, that Surena was inclined to treat with them, and permit them to retire, upon condition that they would continue in amity with the king his maſter, and abandon Meſopotamia to him: that this was more advantageous for both parties, than to proceed to the laſt extremities.

Caſſius came into this, and demanded that the time and place for an interview between Surena and Caſſius ſhould immediately be fixed. The Arabians aſſured him, that they would go and do their utmoſt to that effect, and withdrew.

Surena, overjoyed with keeping his prey in a place from whence it could not eſcape, marched thither the next day with his Parthians, who talked at firſt with extreme haughtineſs, and declared, that if the Romans expected any favourable terms from them, they muſt previouſly deliver up Craſſus and Caſſius bound hand and foot into their hands. The Romans, enraged at ſuch exceeding deceit, told Craſſus, that it was neceſſary to renounce all remote and vain hopes of aid from the Armenians, and fly that very night, without loſing a moment's time. It was highly important, that not one of the inhabitants of Carræ ſhould know this deſign, till the inſtant of its execution. But Andromachus, one of the citizens, was informed of it firſt, and by Craſſus himſelf, who confided it to him, and choſe him for his guide, relying very injudiciouſly upon his fidelity.

The

The Parthians in conſequence were not long before they were fully appriſed of the whole plan, by the means of that traitor. But as it was not their cuſtom to engage in the night, the impoſtor, to prevent Craſſus from getting ſo much ground as might make it impoſſible for the Parthians to come up with him, led the Romans ſometimes by one way, ſometimes by another, and at length brought them into deep marſhy grounds, and places abounding with great ditches, where it was very difficult to march, and neceſſary to make a great many turnings and windings to extricate themſelves out of that labyrinth.

There were ſome who, ſuſpecting that it was with no good deſign Andromachus made them go backwards and forwards in that manner, refuſed at laſt to follow him, and Caſſius himſelf returned towards Carræ. By haſty marches he eſcaped into Syria with five hundred horſe. Moſt of the reſt, who had truſty guides, gained the paſs of the mountains, called *Sinnacchi*, and were in a place of ſafety before the break of day. The latter might be about five thouſand men, under the command of Octavius.

As for Craſſus, the day overtook him, ſtill embarraſſed by the contrivance of the perfidious Andromachus in thoſe marſhy and difficult places. He had with him four cohorts of foot armed with round bucklers, a few horſe, and five lictors who carried the faſces before him. He at length came into the main road, after abundance of trouble and difficulty, when the enemy were almoſt upon him, and he had no more than twelve ſtadia to make, before he joined the troops under Octavius. All he could do, was to gain as ſoon as poſſible another ſummit of thoſe mountains, leſs impracticable to the horſe, and in conſequence not ſo ſecure. This was under that of the *Sinnacchi*, to which it was joined by a long chain of mountains, that filled up all the ſpace between them. Octavius therefore ſaw plainly the danger that threatened Craſſus, and deſcended firſt himſelf from thoſe eminences, with a ſmall number of ſol-

diers, to his aid. But he was ſoon followed by all the reſt, who, reproaching themſelves for their cowardice, flew to his aſſiſtance. Upon their arrival they charged the Barbarians ſo rudely, that they obliged them to abandon the hill. After that they placed Craſſus in the midſt of them, and forming a kind of rampart for him with their bucklers, they declared fiercely, that not an arrow of the enemy ſhould approach their general's body, till they were all dead round him, fighting in his defence.

Surena, ſeeing that the Parthians, already repulſed, went on with leſs vigour to the attack, and if the night came on, and the Romans ſhould make the mountains, that it would be impoſſible for him to take them, he had again recourſe to ſtratagem to amuſe Craſſus. He gave ſecret orders, that ſome priſoners ſhould be ſet at liberty, after having poſted a number of his ſoldiers around them, who, ſeeming in diſcourſe together, ſaid, as the general report of the army, that the king was much averſe to continuing war with the Romans; that, on the contrary, his deſign was to cultivate their amity, and to give them proofs of his favourable inclinations, by treating Craſſus with great humanity. And that the effects might agree with their expreſſions, as ſoon as the priſoners were releaſed, the Barbarians retired from the fight, and Surena, advancing peaceably with his principal officers towards the hill, with his bow unſtrung, and arms extended, invited Craſſus to come down and treat of an accommodation. He ſaid with a loud voice; That, contrary to the king his maſter's will, and through the neceſſity of a juſt defence, he had made them experience the force and power of the Parthian arms; and that at preſent he was diſpoſed to treat them with mildneſs and favour, by granting them peace, and giving them liberty to retire with entire ſecurity on his part. We have obſerved on more than one occaſion, that the peculiar characteriſtick of theſe Barbarians, was to promote the ſucceſs of their deſigns by fraud and treachery, and to make

no

no ſcruple of breaking through their engagements upon ſuch occaſions.

The troops of Craſſus lent a willing ear to this diſcourſe of Surena's, and expreſſed exceeding joy at it: but Craſſus, who had experienced nothing but deceit and perfidy from the Barbarians, and to whom ſo ſudden a change was very ſuſpicious, did not eaſily give into it, and deliberated with his friends. The ſoldiers began to call out to him, and to urge him to accept the interview. From thence they proceeded to outrage and reproaches; and went ſo far as to accuſe him of cowardice; charging him with expoſing them to be ſlaughtered by enemies, with whom he had not ſo much as the courage to ſpeak, when they appeared unarmed before him.

Craſſus at firſt had recourſe to entreaties, and remonſtrated to them, that by maintaining their ground, for the reſt of the day, upon the eminences and difficult places, where they then were, they might eaſily ſave themſelves when night came on: he even ſhowed them the way, and exhorted them not to fruſtrate ſuch hopes of their approaching ſafety. But ſeeing they grew outrageous, that they were ready to mutiny, and by ſtriking their ſwords upon their ſhields, even menaced him; apprehending that commotion, he began to deſcend, and turning about, he only ſaid theſe few words: "Octavius, and you "Petronius, with all the officers and captains here "preſent, you ſee the neceſſity I am under of tak-"ing a ſtep I would willingly avoid, and are wit-"neſſes of the indignities and violence I ſuffer. But "I beg you, when you have retired in ſafety, that "you will tell all the world, for the honour of Rome "our common mother, that Craſſus periſhed, de-"ceived by the enemy, and not abandoned by his "citizens." Octavius and Petronius could not reſolve to let him go alone, but went down the hill with him, when Craſſus diſmiſſed his lictors, who would have followed him.

The firſt perſons the Barbarians ſent to him were two Greeks, who, diſmounting from their horſes, ſaluted him with profound reſpect, and told him in the Greek tongue, that he had only to ſend ſome of his attendants, and Surena would ſatisfy him, that himſelf, and thoſe with him, came without arms, and with all the fidelity and good intentions poſſible. Craſſus replied, that had he ſet the leaſt value upon his life, he ſhould not have come to have put himſelf into their hands; and ſent two brothers, named Roſcius, to know only upon what foot they ſhould treat, and in what number.

Surena cauſed thoſe two brothers to be ſeiſed and kept priſoners, and advancing on horſeback, followed by the principal officers of his army, as ſoon as he perceived Craſſus, *What do I ſee!* ſaid he. *What! the general of the Romans on foot, and we on horſeback! Let an horſe be brought for him immediately.* He imagined that Craſſus appeared in that manner before him out of reſpect. Craſſus replied, *That there was no reaſon to be ſurprized that they came to an interview, each after the* * *cuſtom of his own country. Very good,* returned Surena, *from henceforth let there be a treaty of peace between king Orodes and the Romans: but we muſt go to prepare and ſign the articles of it upon the banks of the Euphrates. For you Romans,* added he, *do not always remember your conventions.* At the ſame time he held out his hand to him. Craſſus would have ſent for an horſe; but Surena told him, there was no occaſion for it, and that the king made him a preſent of that.

A horſe was immediately preſented to him, which had a golden bit; and the king's officers, taking him round the middle, ſet him upon it, ſurrounded him, and began to ſtrike the horſe to make him go forwards faſt. Octavius was the firſt, who, offended at ſuch

* *Amongſt the Romans the conſul always marched on foot, at the head of the infantry.*

ſuch behaviour, took the horſe by the bridle. Petronius ſeconded him, and afterwards all the reſt of his attendants, who came round him, and endeavoured to ſtop the horſe, and to make thoſe retire by force, who preſſed Craſſus forwards. At firſt they puſhed againſt each other with great tumult and diſorder, and afterwards came to blows. Octavius, drawing his ſword, killed a groom of one of thoſe Barbarians. At the ſame time another of them gave Octavius a great wound with his ſword behind, which laid him dead upon the ſpot. Petronius, who had no ſhield, received a ſtroke upon his cuiraſs, and leaped from his horſe without being wounded. Craſſus at the ſame moment was killed by a Parthian. Of thoſe that were preſent, ſome were killed fighting around Craſſus, and others retired in good time to the hill.

The Parthians ſoon followed them thither, and told them, that Craſſus had ſuffered the puniſhment due to his treachery; but for them, that Surena let them know they had only to come down with confidence, and gave them his word that they ſhould ſuffer no ill treatment. Upon his promiſe ſome went down, and put themſelves into the hands of the enemy; others took the advantage of the night, and diſperſed on all ſides. But of the latter very few eſcaped; all the reſt were purſued the next day by the Arabians, who came up with them and put them to the ſword.

The loſs of this battle was the moſt terrible blow the Romans had received from the battle of Cannæ. They had twenty thouſand men killed in it, and ten thouſand taken priſoners. The reſt made their eſcape by different ways into Armenia, Cilicia, and Syria; and out of theſe wrecks another army was afterwards formed in Syria, of which Caſſius took upon him the command, and with it prevented that country from falling into the hands of the victor.

This defeat ought in one ſenſe to have been more affecting to them than that of the battle of Cannæ,

becauſe they had leſs reaſon to expect it. When Hannibal was victorious at Cannæ, Rome was in a ſtate of humiliation. She had already loſt many battles, and had no thought but of defending herſelf, and repulſing the enemy. At this time Rome was triumphant, reſpected, and formidable to all nations: She was miſtreſs of the moſt potent kingdoms of Europe, Aſia, and Africa, lately victorious over one of the moſt powerful enemies ſhe ever had; yet in the moſt exalted height of her greatneſs, ſhe ſaw her glory ſuddenly fall to the ground, in an attack upon a people, formed out of the aſſemblage of the eaſtern nations, whoſe valour ſhe deſpiſed, and whom ſhe reckoned already amongſt her conqueſts. So complete a victory ſhowed thoſe haughty conquerors of the world a rival remote people, capable of making head againſt, and diſputing the empire of the univerſe with them; and not only of ſetting bounds to their ambitious projects, but of making them apprehend for their own ſafety. It ſhowed that the Romans might be overthrown in a pitched battle, and fighting with all their forces; that that power, which till then, like the inundation of a mighty ſea, had overflowed all the countries in its way, might at length receive bounds, and be reſtrained for the future within them.

The check received by Craſſus from the Parthians, was a blot on the Roman name, which the victories gained ſome time after by Ventidius were not capable of effacing. The ſtandards of the vanquiſhed legions were always ſhown by them as ſights. The * priſoners taken in that fatal day were kept there in captivity, and the Romans, citizens or allies, contracted igno-

* Mileſne Craſſi conjuge barbara
Turpis maritus vixit? Et hoſtium
(Proh Curia, inverſique mores!)
Conſenuit ſocerorum in armis
Sub rege Medo, Marſus & Appulus,
Anciliorum, nominis, & togæ
Oblitus, æternæque Veſtæ,
Incolumi Jove, & urbe Roma?

ignominious marriages to the ſhame of Rome, as Horace emphatically deſcribes it, and grew old in tranquillity, upon the lands, and under the ſtandard of the Barbarians. It was not till thirty years after, in the reign of Auguſtus, that the king of the Parthians, without being compelled to it by arms, conſented to reſtore their ſtandards and priſoners to the Romans; which was looked upon by Auguſtus, and the whole empire, as a moſt glorious triumph; ſo much were the Romans humbled by the remembrance of that defeat, and ſo much did they believe it incumbent on them to efface it, if poſſible, to the leaſt trace! For themſelves they never could forget it. Cæſar was upon the point of ſetting out againſt the Parthians, to avenge the affront Rome had received from them, when he was killed. Anthony formed the ſame deſign, which turned to his diſgrace. The Romans, from that time, always regarded the war with the Parthians as the moſt important of their wars. It was the object of the application of their moſt warlike emperors, Trajan, Septimus, Severus, &c. The ſurname of *Parthicus* was the title of which they were fondeſt, and moſt ſenſibly flattered their ambition. If the Romans ſometimes paſſed the Euphrates to extend their conqueſts beyond it, the Parthians in their turn did the ſame, to carry their arms and devaſtations into Syria, and even into Paleſtine. In a word, the Romans could never ſubject the Parthians to their yoke, and that nation was like a wall of braſs, which with impregnable force reſiſted the moſt violent attacks of their power.

When the battle of Carræ was fought, Orodes was in Armenia, where he had lately concluded a peace with Artabaſus. The latter, upon the return of the expreſſes he had ſent to Craſſus, perceiving, by the falſe meaſures he took, that the Romans were infallibly loſt, treated an accommodation with Orodes, and by giving one of his daughters to Pacorus, the ſon of the Parthian king, he cemented by that alliance the treaty he had lately made. Whilſt they were

celebrating the nuptials, the head and hand of Craſſus were brought to them, which Surena had cauſed to be cut off, and ſent the king as a proof of his victory. Their joy was exceedingly augmented by that ſight, and it was ſaid that orders were given to pour molten gold into the mouth of that head, to reproach the inſatiable thirſt which Craſſus always had for that metal.

Surena did not long enjoy the pleaſure of his victory. His maſter, jealous of his glory, and of the credit it gave him, cauſed him to be put to death ſoon after. There are princes, near whom too ſhining qualities are dangerous, who take umbrage at the virtues they are forced to admire, and cannot bear to be ſerved by ſuperior talents, capable of eclipſing their own. Orodes was of this character. He * perceived, as Tacitus obſerves of Tiberius, that with all his power he could not ſufficiently repay the ſervice his general had lately done him. Now, when a benefit is above all return, ingratitude and hatred take place, inſtead of acknowledgement and affection.

Surena was a general of extraordinary merit. He was of conſummate ability at thirty years of age, and ſurpaſſed all men of his times in valour. He was, beſides that, perfectly well made, and of the moſt advantageous ſtature. For riches, credit, and authority, he had alſo more than any man, and was, undoubtedly, the greateſt ſubject the king of Parthia had. His birth gave him the privilege of putting the crown upon the king's head at his coronation, and that right had appertained to his family from the re-eſtabliſhment of the empire. When he travelled, he had always a thouſand camels to carry his baggage, two hundred chariots for his wives and concubines, and for his guard, a thouſand horſe completely armed, beſides a great number of light-armed troops, and domeſticks,

* Deſtruit per hæc fortunam ſuam Cæſar, imparemque tanto merito rebatur. Nam beneficia eò uſque læta ſunt dum videntur exſolvi poſſe; ubi multum antevenere, pro gratia odium redditur. *Tacit. Annal. l.* iv. *c.* 18.

domeſticks, which in all did not amount to leſs than ten thouſand men.

The Parthians expecting, after the defeat of the Roman army, to find Syria without defence, marched to conquer it. But Caſſius, who had formed an army out of the ruins of the other, received them with ſo much vigour, that they were obliged to repaſs the Euphrates ſhamefully, without effecting any thing.

The next (*a*) year the conſuls, M. Calpurnius Bibulus and M. Tullius Cicero, were aſſigned the provinces of Syria and Cilicia. Cicero repaired immediately to the latter, which had been allotted him; but Bibulus amuſing himſelf at Rome, Caſſius continued to command in Syria. And that was much to the advantage of the Romans; for the affairs of that country required a man of a quite different capacity to Bibulus. Pacorus, ſon of Orodes king of the Parthians, had paſſed the Euphrates in the beginning of the ſpring, at the head of a numerons army, and had entered Syria. He was too young to command alone, and was therefore accompanied by Orſaces, an old general, who diſpoſed of every thing. He marched directly to Antioch, which he beſieged. Caſſius had ſhut himſelf up in that place with all his troops. Cicero, who had received advice of his condition in his province, by the means of Antiochus king of Comagena, aſſembled all his forces, and marched to the eaſtern frontier of his province, which bordered upon Armenia, to oppoſe an invaſion on that ſide, ſhould the Armenians attempt it, and at the ſame time to be at hand to ſupport Caſſius in caſe of need. He ſent another body of troops towards the mountain Amanus, with the ſame view. That detachment fell in with a great detachment of the Parthian cavalry, which had entered Cilicia, and entirely defeated it, ſo that not a ſingle man eſcaped.

A. M. 3955. Ant. J. C. 51.

The news of this defeat, and that of Cicero's approach

(*a*) Cic. ad Famil. l. ii. Epiſt. 10. 17. iii. 2. xii. 19. xv. 1—4. Ad Attic. l. v. 18. 20, 21, vi. 1. 8. vii. 2.

proach to Antioch, extremely encouraged Caſſius and his troops to make a good defence, and ſo much abated the ardour of the Parthians, that deſpairing to carry the place, they raiſed the ſiege, and went to form that of Antigonia, which was not far from thence. But they were ſo little ſkilled in attacking towns, that they miſcarried again before this, and were reduced to retire. That was no wonder; the Parthians made their principal force conſiſt in cavalry, and applied themſelves moſt to field-battle, which ſuited their genius beſt. Caſſius, who was appriſed of the rout they would take, laid an ambuſcade for them, which they did not fail to fall into. He defeated them entirely, and killed a great number of them, amongſt whom was their general Orſaces. The remains of their army repaſſed the Euphrates.

When Cicero ſaw the Parthians removed, and Antioch out of danger, he turned his arms againſt the inhabitants of mount Amanus, who being ſituate between Syria and Cilicia, were independent of, and at war with both thoſe provinces. They made continual incurſions into them, and gave them great trouble. Cicero entirely ſubjected thoſe mountaineers, and took and demoliſhed all their caſtles and forts. He afterwards marched againſt another barbarous nation, a kind of ſavages, who called themſelves (*b*) free Cilicians, and pretended to have never been ſubjected to the empire of any of the kings, who had been maſters of the countries round about. He took all their cities, and made ſuch diſpoſitions in the country, as very much pleaſed all their neighbours, whom they perpetually harraſſed.

It is Cicero himſelf, who relates theſe circumſtances in ſeveral of his letters. There are two among the reſt, which may be looked upon as perfect models of the manner in which a general, or commander, ought to give a prince, or his miniſtry, an account of a military expedition; with ſuch ſimplicity, perſpicuity, and preciſion, in which the proper character of writings

(*b*) *Eluthero Cilices.*

writings and relations of this kind conſiſts, are they expreſſed. The firſt is addreſſed to the ſenate and people of Rome, and to the principal magiſtrates; it is the ſecond of his fifteenth book of familiar epiſtles; the other is wrote particularly to Cato. This laſt is a maſter-piece, wherein Cicero, who paſſionately deſired the honour of a triumph for his military expeditions, employs all the art and addreſs of eloquence to engage that grave ſenator in his favour. Plutarch tells us (*c*), that after his return to Rome, the ſenate offered him a triumph, and that he refuſed it, upon account of the civil war then ready to break out between Cæſar and Pompey; not believing that it became him to celebrate a ſolemnity which breathed nothing but joy, at a time when the ſtate was upon the point of falling into the greateſt calamites. His refuſal to triumph in the midſt of the apprehenſions and diſorders of a bloody civil war, argues in Cicero a great love for the publick good and his country, and does him much more honour than a triumph itſelf could have done.

During the civil war between Pompey and Cæſar, and thoſe that followed, the Parthians, declaring ſometimes for one, and ſometimes for the other party, made ſeveral irruptions into Syria and Paleſtine. But thoſe are events, which particularly relate to the Roman or Jewiſh hiſtories, and therefore do not enter into my plan.

I ſhall conclude this abridgement of that of the Parthians, with the deaths of Pacorus and Orodes his father. Ventidius, who commanded the Roman armies, under the authority of Anthony the triumvir, did not a little contribute to the re-eſtabliſhing the honour of the nation. He was a ſoldier of fortune, who, from the loweſt condition of (*d*) life, had raiſed himſelf by his merit to the higheſt dignities of the republick. In the war againſt the allies of Rome, who attempted to extort the freedom of the city by force,

(*c*) Plut. in Cic. p. 879. (*d*) Vell. Paterc. l. ii. c. 65. Valer. Max. l. vi. c. 9. Aul. Gell. l. xv. c. 4.

force, he was taken an infant, with his mother, in Aſculum, the capital of the Picenians, by Strabo, the father of Pompey the Great, and led in triumph before that general. Supported by the credit of C. Cæſar, under whom he had ſerved in Gaul, and paſſed through all the degrees of the army, he became prætor and conſul. He was the only perſon that triumphed for his exploits againſt the Parthians, and obtained that honour, after having been led in a triumph himſelf.

I have ſaid, that Ventidius contributed very much to make the Romans amends for the affront they had received at the battle of Carræ. He had began to revenge the defeat of Craſſus and his army, by two ſucceſſive victories gained over thoſe terrible enemies. A third, ſtill greater than the former, completed the work, and was obtained in this manner.

A. M. 3965. Ant. J. C. 39. That (*e*) general, apprehending the Parthians, whoſe preparations were much advanced, would prevent him, and paſs the Euphrates before he had time to draw all his troops together out of their different quarters, had recourſe to this ſtratagem. There was a petty eaſtern prince in his camp, under the name of an ally, whom he knew to be entirely in the intereſts of the Parthians, and that he held ſecret intelligence with them, and gave them advice of all the deſigns of the Romans, which he could diſcover. He reſolvd to make this man's treachery the means to draw the Parthians into a ſnare he had laid for them.

With that view he had contracted a more than ordinary intimacy with this traitor. He converſed frequently with him upon the operations of the campaign. Affecting at length to open himſelf to him with great confidence, he obſerved, that he was much afraid, from advices he had received, that the Parthians did not deſign to paſs the Euphrates at Zeugma, as uſual, but a great way lower. For, ſaid he, if they paſs at Zeugma, the country on this ſide is ſo mountainous,

(*e*) Joſeph. Antiq. l. xiv. c. 24. Plut. in Anton. p. 931. Appian. in Parth. p. 156. Dion. Caſſ. l. xlix. p. 403, 404. Juſtin. l. xlii. c. 4.

tainous, that the cavalry, in which the whole force of their army conſiſts, can do us no great hurt. But if they paſs below, there are nothing but plains, where they have all manner of advantages againſt us, and it will be impoſſible for us to make head againſt them. As ſoon as he had imparted this ſecret to him, the ſpy did not fail, as Ventidius had rightly foreſeen, to communicate it to the Parthians, with whom it had all the effect he could deſire. Pacorus, inſtead of going to Zeugma, immediately took the other rout, loſt abundance of time in the great compaſs he was obliged to take, and in the preparations neceſſary for paſſing the river there. Ventidius got forty days by this means, which he employed in making Silon of Judæa join him, with the legions quartered on the other ſide of the mount Taurus, and found himſelf in a condition to give the Parthians a good reception when then entered Syria.

As they ſaw that they had not been attacked either in paſſing the river, or afterwards, they attributed that inactivity to terror and cowardice, and marched directly to charge the enemy in their camp, though ſituated very advantageouſly upon an eminence, not doubting but they ſhould ſoon make themſelves maſters of it, and that without much reſiſtance. They were miſtaken. The Romans quitted their camp, fell on them with impetuoſity, and puſhed them with the utmoſt vigour upon the declivity; and as they had the advantage of the ground, and their light-armed troops poured ſhowers of darts upon the Parthians, they ſoon put them into diſorder, notwithſtanding the vigorous reſiſtance they made at firſt. The ſlaughter was very great. Pacorus was killed in the battle, and his death was followed immediately with the flight of his whole army. The vanquiſhed made haſte to regain the bridge, in order to return into their own country; but the Romans prevented them, and cut the greateſt part of them in pieces. Some few eſcaping by flight, retired to Antiochus king of Comagena. Hiſtory obſerves, that this celebrated battle, which ſo

well revenged the defeat of Craſſus, was fought exactly on the ſame day with the battle of Carræ fourteen years before.

* Orodes was ſo ſtruck with the loſs of this battle, and the death of his ſon, that he was almoſt out of his ſenſes. For ſeveral days he neither opened his mouth, nor took any nouriſhment. When the exceſs of his grief was a little abated, and would permit him to ſpeak, nothing was heard from him but the name of Pacorus. He imagined that he ſaw him, and called to him; he ſeemed to diſcourſe with him, and as if he were living, to ſpeak to him, and hear him ſpeak. At other times he remembered that he was dead, and ſhed a torrent of tears.

Never was grief more juſt. This was the moſt fatal blow for the Parthian monarchy it had ever received; nor was the loſs of the prince leſs than that of the army itſelf. For he was the moſt excellent perſon the houſe of the Arſacides had ever produced, for juſtice, clemency, valour, and all the qualities which conſtitute the truly great prince. He had made himſelf ſo much beloved in Syria, during the little time he reſided there, that never did the people expreſs more affection for any of their native ſovereigns, than for the perſon of this foreign prince.

When Orodes had a little recovered the dejection, into which the death of his dear ſon Pacorus had thrown him, he found himſelf extremely embarraſſed about the choice of his ſucceſſor out of his other children. He had thirty by different women, each of whom ſollicited him in favour of her own, and made uſe of all the aſcendancy ſhe had over a ſpirit impaired by age and affliction. At laſt he determined however to follow the order of birth, and nominated

PHRAATES,

* Orodes, repente filii morte & exercitus clade audita, ex dolore in furorem vertitur. Multis diebus non alloqui quenquam, non cibum ſumere, non vocem mittere, ita ut etiam mutus factus videretur. Poſt multos deinde dies, ubi dolor vocem laxaverat, nihil aliud quam Pacorum vocabat. Pacorus illi videri, Pacorus audiri videbatur: cum illo loqui, cum illo conſiſtere. Interdum quaſi amiſſum flebiliter dolebat. *Juſtin.*

PHRAATES, the eldeſt and moſt vicious of them all. He had ſcarce taken poſſeſſion of the throne, when he A. M. 3967. Ant. J. C. 37. cauſed all his brothers, whom his father had by the daughter of Antiochus Euſebes, king of Syria, to be murthered, and that only becauſe their mother was of a better family than his, and they had more merit than himſelf. The father, who was ſtill alive, not being able to avoid profeſſing extreme diſpleaſure upon that occaſion, that unnatural ſon ordered him alſo to be put to death. He treated the reſt of his brothers in the ſame manner, and did not ſpare his own ſon, from the apprehenſion that the people would ſet him upon the throne in his ſtead. It was this prince, ſo cruel in regard to all his own family, that treated Hyrcanus, king of the Jews, with particular favour and clemency.

## ARTICLE III.

*Abridgement of the hiſtory of the kings of Cappadocia, from the foundation of that kingdom to the time when it became a province of the Roman empire.*

I Have ſpoken in ſeveral parts of this hiſtory of the kings of Cappadocia, according as I had occaſion, but without mentioning either their beginning or ſucceſſion. I ſhall here unite in one point of view all that relates to that kingdom.

Cappadocia is a great country (*a*) of Aſia Minor. The Perſians, under whom it was at firſt, had divided it into two parts, and eſtabliſhed two ſatrapies or governments in it. The Macedonians, into whoſe poſſeſſion it fell, ſuffered thoſe two governments to be changed into kingdoms. The one extended towards mount Taurus, and was properly called Cappadocia, or Cappadocia Major, the other towards Pontus, and was called Cappadocia Pontica, or Cappadocia Minor; they were at length united into one kingdom.

Strabo

(*a*) Strabo, l. xii. p. 533, 534.

Strabo ſays, that Ariarathes was the firſt king of Cappadocia, but does not mention at what time he began to reign. It is probable, that it was about the
A. M. 3644. Ant. J. C. 360. time Philip, father of Alexander the Great, began to reign in Macedonia, and Ochus in Perſia; admitting that the kingdom of Cappadocia continued three hundred threeſcore and ſixteen years, before it was reduced into a province of the Roman empire under Tiberius.

It was governed at firſt by a long ſucceſſion of kings named Ariarathes, then by kings called Ariobarzanes, who did not exceed the third generation; and at length by the laſt, Archelaus. According to Diodorus Siculus, there were many kings of Cappadocia before Ariarathes; but as their hiſtory is almoſt entirely unknown, I ſhall make no mention of it in this place.

A. M. 3644. Ant. J. C. 360. ARIARATHES I. He reigned jointly with his brother Holophernes, for whom he had a particular affection.

A. M. 3653. Ant. J. C. 351 Having joined the Perſians in the expedition againſt Egypt, he acquired great glory, and returned home laden with honours by king Ochus.

A. M. 3668. Ant. J. C. 336. ARIARATHES II. ſon of the former, (*b*) had lived at peace in his dominions, during the wars of Alexander the Great, who out of impatience to come to blows with Darius, was unwilling to be delayed for the conqueſt of Cappadocia, and had contented himſelf with ſome inſtances of ſubmiſſion.

After that prince's death, Cappadocia, in the partition made of the provinces of his empire by his generals, fell to Eumenes. Perdiccas, to put him into poſſeſſion of it, conducted him thither at the head of a powerful army. Ariarathes on his ſide prepared for a vigorous defence. He had thirty thouſand foot, and a numerous cavalry. They came to a battle. Ariarathes was defeated and taken priſoner. Perdiccas cauſed him, with his principal officers, to be crucified, and put Eumenes into poſſeſſion of his dominions.

ARI-

(*b*) Plut. in Eumen. p. 548. Diod. l. xviii. p. 599.

ARIARATHES III. after the death of his father, eſcaped into Armenia.

As ſoon as he was appriſed of the death of Perdiccas and Eumenes, and the employment the other wars gave Antigonus and Seleucus, he entered Cappadocia with troops, lent him by Ardoates king of Armenia. He defeated Amyntas, general of the Macedonians, drove him out of the country, and re-aſcended the throne of his anceſtors. A. M. 3689. Ant. J. C. 315.

ARIAMNES his eldeſt ſon ſucceeded him. He entered into an alliance with Antiochus Theos king of Syria, and married his eldeſt ſon to Stratonice, the daughter of the ſame Antiochus. He had ſo great an affection for this ſon, that he made him his colleague in the kingdom. A. M. 3720. Ant. J. C. 284.

ARIARATHES IV. having reigned alone after the death of his father, left his dominions, when he died, to his ſon of the ſame name with himſelf, who was at that time very young.

ARIARATHES V. He married Antiochis, daughter of Antiochus the Great, an artful princeſs, who finding herſelf barren, had recourſe to impoſture. She deceived her huſband, and made him believe that ſhe had two ſons, one of whom was called Ariarathes, and the other * Holophernes. Her barrenneſs ceaſing ſome time after, ſhe had two daughters, and then one ſon, who was named Mithridates. She confeſſed the fraud to her huſband, and ſent one of the ſuppoſed children to be brought up at Rome, with a ſmall train, and the other into Ionia. The true ſon took the name of Ariarathes, and was educated after the manner of the Greeks. A. M. 3814. Ant. J. C. 190.

ARIARATHES V. ſupplied his father-in-law, Antiochus king of Syria, with troops, in the war which he undertook againſt the Romans. Antiochus having been defeated, Ariarathes ſent (*c*) ambaſſadors to Rome, to aſk the ſenate's pardon, for having been obliged to declare againſt the Romans in favour of his father-



(*c*) Liv. l. xxxvii. n. 40. l. xxxviii. n. 37, & 39.

* *He is called ſo by Polybius, and Orophernes by Diodorus Siculus,*

father-in-law. This was granted him, but not till after he had been condemned to pay, by way of expiation of his fault, two hundred talents, that is to ſay, two hundred thouſand crowns. The ſenate afterwards abated him half that ſum, at the requeſt of Eumenes king of Pergamus, who had lately married his daughter.

Ariarathes afterwards entered into an alliance with his ſon-in-law Eumenes, againſt Pharnaces king of Pontus. The Romans, who had rendered themſelves arbiters of the kings of the Eaſt, ſent ambaſſadors to tranſact a treaty between thoſe three princes: but Pharnaces rejected their mediation. However two years after, he was obliged to treat with Eumenes and Ariarathes upon conditions ſufficiently hard.

The latter had a ſon of his own name, who loved him in the moſt tender manner, which occaſioned his being ſurnamed Philopator, and for whom he had no leſs affection. He deſired to give him the proofs of it, in reſigning the kingdom to him, and placing him upon the throne during his life. The ſon, who had all poſſible affection and reſpect for a father who ſo well deſerved both, could not reſolve to accept an offer ſo advantageous in the vulgar opinion of men, but a mortal wound to ſo good a heart as his; and repreſented to his father, that he was not one of thoſe who could conſent to reign during the life of him to whom he owed his being. Such examples of moderation, generoſity, diſintereſtedneſs, and ſincere affection for a father, are the moſt extraordinary, and were the more admired, as in the times of which we are now relating the hiſtory, inordinate ambition reſpected nothing, and boldly violated the moſt ſacred ties of nature and religion.

A. M. 3842. Ant. J. C. 162. ARIARATHES VI. ſurnamed Philopator, reigned after his father's death, and was an excellent prince. As ſoon (*d*) as he aſcended the throne, he ſent an embaſſy to Rome, to renew the alliance his father had contracted with the Romans, which he found no diffi-

(*d*) Diod. in Eclog. l. xxxi. p. 865.

difficulty to obtain. He applied himſelf very cloſely to the ſtudy of philoſophy, from whence Cappadocia, which, till then, had been unknown to the Greeks, became the reſidence of many learned men.

Demetrius, king of Syria, had a ſiſter, whom Ariarathes refuſed to eſpouſe, leſt that alliance ſhould give offence to the Romans. That refuſal extremely prejudiced Demetrius againſt the king of Cappadocia. He ſoon found an occaſion to be revenged, by ſupplying Holophernes with troops, who pretended himſelf the brother of (*e*) Ariarathes, expelled him from the throne, and after that violence reigned tyrannically. He put many to death, confiſcated the eſtates of the greateſt lords, and even plundered a temple of Jupiter, which had been reverenced by the people from time immemorial, and had never ſuffered ſuch a violence before. Apprehending a revolution, which his cruelty gave him reaſon to expect, he depoſited* four hundred talents with the inhabitants of Priene, a city of Ionia. Ariarathes had taken refuge at Rome, to implore aid of the Romans. The uſurper ſent his deputies thither alſo. The ſenate, according to the uſual motives of their policy, decreed that the kingdom ſhould be divided between the two brothers. Ariarathes found a more immediate and more effectual protector, in the perſon of Attalus king of Pergamus, who ſignaliſed the beginning of his reign by re-eſtabliſhing this unfortunate prince upon the throne of his anceſtors. Ariarathes, to revenge himſelf on the uſurper, was for obliging the inhabitants of Priene to deliver into his hands the four hundred talents Holophernes had left with them. They oppoſed that demand, with pleading the inviolable faith of depoſits, which would not admit their giving up that ſum to any one whatſoever, during the life of the perſon who had confided it to their keeping. Ariarathes had no regard to ſo juſt a repreſentation, and laid waſte their lands without mercy, notwithſtanding

A. M. 3845. Ant. J. C. 159.



(*e*) Diod. in Excerpt. p. 334, & 336.

* *Four hundred thouſand crowns.*

ſtanding which, ſo conſiderable a loſs did not induce them to violate the fidelity they thought themſelves obliged to obſerve in regard to him, who had confided that depoſit with them.

Holophernes had (*f*) retired to Antioch, where he joined in a conſpiracy with the inhabitants of that city againſt Demetrius his benefactor, whoſe place he had conceived hopes of ſupplying. The conſpiracy was diſcovered, and Holophernes impriſoned. Demetrius would have put him to death directly, if he had not judged it more adviſeable to reſerve him, in order to make uſe of him afterwards in the pretenſions he had upon Cappadocia, and the deſign he had formed of dethroning and deſtroying Ariarathes: but he was prevented by the plot contrived againſt him by the three kings of Egypt, Pergamus, and Cappadocia, who ſet Alexander Bala upon the throne in his ſtead.

A. M. 3875. Ant. J. C. 129. Ariarathes aided the Romans againſt Ariſtonicus, who (*g*) had poſſeſſed himſelf of the kingdom of Pergamus, and periſhed in that war.

He left ſix children, whom he had by Laodice. The Romans, in gratitude for the father's ſervices, added Lycaonia and Cilicia to their dominions. Laodice, who was regent during the minority of thoſe ſix princes, apprehending the loſs of her authority when they ſhould be at age to reign, poiſoned five of them the ſame year their father died. She had treated the ſixth in the ſame manner, if the vigilance of relations had not removed him from the fury of that unnatural mother. The people ſet him upon the throne, after having deſtroyed that cruel murtheress of her children.

A. M. 3913. Ant. J. C. 91. ARIARATHES VII. (*h*) He married another Laodice, ſiſter of Mithridates Eupator, and had two ſons by her, ARIARATHES VIII. and ARIARATHES IX. His brother-in-law cauſed him to be murthered by Gordius, one of his ſubjects. Laodice afterwards married Nico-

(*f*) Juſtin. l. xxxv. c. 1. (*g*) Ibid. l. xxxvii. c. 1.
(*h*) Ibid. l. xxxviii. c. 1.

Nicomedes king of Bithynia, who immediately took poſſeſſion of Cappadocia. Mithridates ſent an army thither, drove out the garriſons of Nicomedes, and reſtored the kingdom to his nephew, the ſon of the ſame Ariarathes, whom he had cauſed to be aſſaſſinated.

ARIARATHES VIII. had ſcarce aſcended the throne, when Mithridates preſſed him to recall Gordius from baniſhment, with deſign to rid himſelf of the ſon by the ſame aſſaſſin who had killed the father. That young prince ſhuddered at the propoſal, and raiſed an army to oppoſe the violence of his uncle. Mithridates being unwilling to decide his meaſures by the hazard of a battle, choſe rather to draw Ariarathes to a conference, in which he aſſaſſinated him with a dagger concealed for that purpoſe in the view of the two armies. He ſet his own ſon of only eight years old in his place, cauſed him to be called Ariarathes, and gave him Gordius for his governor (*i*). The Cappadocians, not being able to bear the vexations of the lieutenants of Mithridates, roſe in arms, called in Ariarathes, the late king's brother, from Aſia, and placed him upon the throne.

ARIARATHES IX. Soon after his return, Mithridates attacked, overthrew, and expelled him the kingdom. That young prince's grief brought a diſtemper on him, of which he died ſoon after. Mithridates had re-eſtabliſhed his ſon upon the throne.

Nicomedes, king of Bithynia, apprehending that Mithridates, being in poſſeſſion of Cappadocia, might fall upon his dominions, ſet up an infant of eight years old, to whom he alſo gave the name of Ariarathes, and ſent deputies to the Romans to demand the kingdom of his father in his name. Queen Laodice his wife went expreſsly to Rome to ſupport the impoſture, and to teſtify, that ſhe had three ſons by ARIARATHES VII. of whom this, which ſhe produced, was the laſt. Mithridates, on his ſide, ventured to have aſſurances made by Gordius, that this



(*i*) Juſtin. l. xxxviii. c. 2.

ſon, whom he had placed upon the throne, was the ſon of that Ariarathes who had been killed in the war againſt Ariſtonicus. What times were theſe! what a ſeries is here of frauds and impoſtures! The Roman people ſaw through them; and, not to ſupport them on either ſide, decreed that Mithridates ſhould renounce Cappadocia, which for the future ſhould enjoy its liberty, and govern itſelf as it thought proper. But the Cappadocians ſent to Rome to declare that liberty was inſupportable to them, and to demand a king. We may juſtly be aſtoniſhed at the taſte of a people, who could prefer ſlavery to liberty! but there are capricious and corrupt nations, to which the monarchical is better adapted than the republican government; and there are few people, who are wiſe enough to make a moderate uſe of perfect and entire liberty. The Cappadocians elected, or rather received from the Romans, Ariobarzanes for their king, whoſe family was extinct at the third generation.

A. M. 3915. Ant. J. C. 89. ARIOBARZANES I. (*a*) This new prince did not enjoy his dignity in peace. Mithraas and Bagoas, generals of Tigranes, drove him out of Cappadocia, and re-inſtated Ariarathes, ſon of Mithridates. The Romans cauſed Ariobarzanes to be re-inſtated. He was expelled ſome time after by an army ſent by Mithridates into Cappadocia in favour of his ſon. Sylla, having obtained great advantages over Mithridates, compelled him to abandon Cappadocia. Some time after, at the inſtigation of that prince, Tigranes invaded that kingdom, and carried off three hundred thouſand men, to whom he gave lands in Armenia. Ariobarzanes, who had eſcaped to Rome before the invaſion, was not reſtored till Pompey had put an end to the war with Mithridates.

A. M. 3938. Ant. J. C. 66. ARIOBARZANES II. Pompey had conſiderably enlarged the dominions of Ariobarzanes, when he replaced him upon the throne of Cappadocia. His ſon

(*a*) Appian. in Mithrid. p. 176, &c. Juſtin. l. xxxviii. c. 3. Plut. in Sylla.

ſon ſucceeded to all that great inheritance, but did not keep it long. He was killed ſome time before Cicero went to command in Cilicia. The prince who reigned at that time was ARIOBARZANES III. grandſon of ARIOBARZANES I.

ARIOBARZANES III. Cicero (*b*), upon quitting Rome, had received orders to favour and protect Ariobarzanes with all poſſible care, as a prince whoſe welfare was dear to the ſenate and people: a glorious teſtimonial, which had never before been granted to any king. Cicero punctually executed the order of the ſenate. When he arrived in Cilicia, Ariobarzanes was menaced with being killed, as his father had been. A conſpiracy was on foot againſt him, in favour of his brother Ariarathes. The latter declared to Cicero, that he had no part in that plot; that indeed he had been earneſtly ſollicited to accept the kingdom, but that he had always been infinitely averſe to ſuch thoughts, during the life of his brother, who had no iſſue. Cicero employed the authority of his office, and all the credit his high reputation gave him, to diſpel the ſtorm with which the king was threatened. His * endeavours were ſucceſsful; he ſaved the king's life and crown by his conſtancy, and a generous diſintereſtedneſs, which rendered him inacceſſible to all the attempts that were made to corrupt his integrity, and to make him change ſides. The greateſt danger came from the high-prieſt of Comana. There were two principal cities of that name, the one in Cappadocia, and the other in the kingdom of Pontus (*c*). They were conſecrated to Bellona, and obſerved almoſt the ſame ceremonies in the worſhip of that goddeſs. The one was formed upon the model of the other; that of Pontus upon that of Cappadocia. It is of the latter

A. M. 3953. Ant. J. C. 51.



(*b*) Cic. Epiſt. 2 and 4. l. xv. ad Famil. & Epiſt. 20. l. v. ad Attic.

(*c*) Strabo. l. xii. p. 535, & 557.

* Ariobarzanes opera mea vivit, regnat ἐν παρέργῳ conſilio & auctoritate, & quod proditoribus ejus ἀπροσίτους, non modò ἀδιαφθάρτου, præbui, regem, regnumque ſervavi. *Cic. Epiſt.* 20. l. v. *ad Attic.*

we ſpeak in this place, The temple of that goddeſs was endowed with great eſtates, and ſerved by a vaſt number of perſons, under the authority of a pontiff, a man of great credit, and ſo conſiderable, that only the king was his ſuperior: he was generally of the blood royal. His dignity was for life. Strabo ſays, that in his time there were above ſix thouſand perſons conſecrated to the ſervice of this temple. From hence the high-prieſt was ſo powerful; and * in the time of which we ſpeak, might have occaſioned a very dangerous war, and involved Ariobarzanes in great difficulties had he thought proper to defend himſelf by force of arms, as it was believed he would; for he had troops, both horſe and foot, ready to take the field, with great funds to pay and ſubſiſt them. But Cicero, by his prudence, prevailed upon him to retire out of the kingdom, and to leave Ariobarzanes in the peaceable poſſeſſion of it.

During the civil war between Cæſar and Pompey, Ariobarzanes marched with ſome troops to the latter, who were preſent at the battle of Pharſalia. This, no doubt, was the reaſon that Cæſar laid Ariobarzanes under contribution. It is certain that he exacted very conſiderable ſums of money from him (*d*); for that prince repreſented to him, that it would be impoſſible for him to pay them, if Pharnaces continued to plunder Cappadocia. Cæſar was then in Egypt, from whence he ſet out to reduce Pharnaces to reaſon. He paſſed through Cappadocia, and made ſuch regulations there, as imply that Ariobarzanes and his brother were in no very good underſtanding, and entirely ſubjected the latter to the authority of the former. After Cæſar had conquered Pharnaces,

(*d*) Cæſar de Bell. Civ. l. iii. Hiſt. de Bell. Alex.

* Cum magnum bellum in Cappadocia concitaretur, ſi ſacerdos armis ſe (quod factuius putabatur) defenderet, adoleſcens & equitatu & peditatu & pecunia paratus, & toto, iis qui novari aliquid volebant, perfeci ut e regno ille diſcederet; rexque ſine tumultu ac ſine armis, omni auctoritate aulæ communita, regnum cum dignitate obtineret. *Cic. Epiſt.* 4. lib. xv. *ad Famil.*

ces (*e*), he gave part of Cilicia and Armenia to Ariobarzanes.

This good treatment (*f*) gave the murtherers of Cæsar reason to believe, that the king of Cappadocia would not favour their party. He did not openly declare against them; but he refused to enter into their alliance. This conduct gave them a just diffidence of him, so that Cassius thought it incumbent upon him not to spare him. He attacked him, and having taken him prisoner, put him to death. A. M. 3962. Ant. J. C. 42.

ARIARATHES X. By the death of Ariobarzanes, the kingdom of Cappadocia remained to his brother Ariarathes. The possession of it was disputed with him by Sisinna, the eldest son of Glaphyra, wife of Archelaus, high-priest of Bellona, at Comana in Cappadocia. This Archelaus was the grandson of Archelaus, a Cappadocian by nation, and general of an army in Greece for Mithridates against Sylla. He abandoned the party of Mithridates in the second war, as we shall relate in the twenty-second book (*g*), and joined the Romans. He left one son, named also Archelaus, who married Berenice, queen of Egypt, and was killed six months after in a battle. He obtained a very honourable dignity of Pompey, which was the high-priesthood of Comana in Cappadocia. His son Archelaus possessed it after him. He married Glaphyra, a lady of extraordinary beauty, and had two sons by her, Sisinna and Archelaus. (*b*) The first disputed the kingdom of Cappadocia with Ariarathes, who possessed it. Mark Anthony was the judge of this difference, and determined it in favour of Sisinna. What became of him is not known; history only tells us, that Ariarathes re-ascended the throne. Five or six years after, Mark Anthony expelled him (*i*), and set Archelaus, the second son of Glaphyra, upon the throne. A. M. 3963. Ant. J. C. 41. A. M. 3968. Ant. J. C. 36.

ARCHELAUS.

(*e*) Diod. l. xlii. p. 183. (*f*) Diod. l. xlvii. (*g*) Strab. l. xii. p. 558. Diod. l. xxxix. p. 116. (*b*) Appian. de Bell. Civ. l. v. p. 675. (*i*) Diod. l. xlix. p. 411.

A. M. 3971. Ant. J. C. 33.

ARCHELAUS. (*k*) That prince became very powerful. He expreſſed his gratitude to Mark Anthony, by joining him with good troops at the battle of Actium. He was fortunate, notwithſtanding that conduct, to eſcape the reſentment of Auguſtus. He was ſuffered to keep poſſeſſion of Cappadocia, and was almoſt the only one treated with ſo much favour.

A. M. 3984. Ant. J. C. 20.

He aſſiſted Tiberius (*l*) to re-eſtabliſh Tigranes in Armenia, and obtained of Auguſtus, Armenia Minor, and a great part of Cilicia. Tiberius rendered him great ſervices with Auguſtus, eſpecially when his ſubjects brought accuſations againſt him before that prince. He pleaded his cauſe himſelf, and was the occaſion of his gaining it. Archelaus fixed his reſidence in the iſland of Eleuſis near the coaſt of Cilicia, and having married Pythodoris, the widow of Polemon king of Pontus, he conſiderably augmented his power. For as the ſons of Polemon were infants at that time, he had undoubtedly the adminiſtration of their kingdom jointly with their mother.

A. M. 3988. Ant. J. C. 16.

His reign was very long and happy: (*m*) but his latter years were unfortunate, in effect of Tiberius's revenge. That prince, who ſaw with pain, that Caius and Lucius, the ſons of Agrippa, grandſons of Auguſtus, and his ſons by adoption, were raiſed by degrees above him; * to avoid giving umbrage to the two young Cæſars, and to ſpare himſelf the mortification of being witneſs to their aggrandiſement, demanded and obtained permiſſion to retire to Rhodes, under pretext that he had occaſion to withdraw from buſineſs and the hurry of Rome for the re-eſtabliſhment of his health. His retreat was conſidered as a real baniſhment, and people began to neglect him as

(*k*) Plut. in Anton. p. 944. (*l*) Joſeph. Antiq. l. xv. c. 5. Diod. l. liv. p. 526. Sueton. in Tib. c. viii. Diod. l. lvii. p. 614. Strab. l. xiv. p. 671. & l. xii. p. 556. (*m*) Diod. in Excerpt. p. 662. Sueton. in Tib. c. x. Vell. Paterc. l. ii. c. 99.

* Ne fulgor ſuus orientium juvenum obſtaret initiis, diſſimulata cauſa conſilii fui, commeatum ab ſocero atque eodem vitrico acquieſcendi a continuatione laborum petiit. *Paterc.* l. ii. c. 99.

as a perſon in diſgrace, and did not believe it ſafe to appear his friends. * During his ſtay at Rhodes, king Archelaus, who was not very remote from thence, reſiding generally at † Eleuſis, paid him no honours, forgetting the great obligations he had to him. It was not, ſays Tacitus, out of pride or haughtineſs, but by the advice of Auguſtus's principal friends, who believed the amity of Tiberius dangerous at that time. On the contrary, when young Caius Cæſar, appointed governor of the Eaſt, was ſent into Armenia by Auguſtus, to appeaſe the troubles of that country, Archelaus, who looked upon him as the future ſucceſſor to the empire, paid him all kind of honours, and diſtinguiſhed himſelf by the zeal with which he paid his court to him. Politicians are often miſtaken in their conjectures, for want of a clear inſight into futurity. It had been more conſiſtent with prudence and wiſdom in Archelaus to have obſerved ſuch a conduct as had been agreeable to each of the princes, who might both arrive at the empire. Something of this nature is obſerved of Pomponius ‡ Atticus, who during the diviſions, with which the republick was torn at different times, always knew how to render himſelf agreeable to both parties. A. M. 4002. Ant. J. C. 2.

Tiberius never forgot the injurious preference that had been given to his rival, which was the more offenſive to him, as it argued an ungrateful diſpoſition in Archelaus. He made him highly ſenſible of this when he became maſter. Archelaus was cited to Rome A. M. 4020. An. Dom. 16.

* Rex Archelaus quinquageſimum annum Cappadocia potiebatur, inviſus Tiberio, quod eum Rhodi agentem nullo officio coluiſſet. Nec id Archelaus per ſuperbiam omiſerat, ſed ab intimis Auguſti monitus; quia florente Caio Cæſare, miſſoque ad res Orientis, intuta Tiberii amicitia credebatur. *Tacit. Annal.* l. ii. c. 42.

† *Eleuſis was but ſix leagues diſtant from Rhodes.* Strab. l. xiv. p. 651.

‡ Hoc quale ſit, facilius exiſtimabit is, qui judicare quantæ ſit ſapientiæ, eorum retinere uſum benevolentiamque inter quos maximarum rerum non ſolum æmulatio, ſed obtrectatio tanta intercedebat, quantum fuit incidere neceſſe inter Cæſarem atque Antonium, cum ſe uterque principem non ſolum urbis Romanæ ſed orbis terrarum eſſe cuperet. *Corn. Nep. in Attic.* c. xx.

Rome, as having endeavoured to excite troubles in the province. Livia wrote to him, and, without diſſembling the emperor's anger, gave him hopes of pardon, provided he came in perſon to demand it. This was a ſnare laid for drawing him out of his kingdom. The * king of Cappadocia either did not perceive it, or dared not act as if he did. He ſet out for Rome, was very ill received by Tiberius, and ſaw himſelf proceeded againſt as a criminal. Dion aſſures us, that Archelaus, depreſſed with age, was generally believed to have loſt his reaſon; but that in reality he was perfectly in his ſenſes, and counterfeited the madman, becauſe he ſaw no other means of ſaving his life. The ſenate paſſed no ſentence againſt him; but age, the gout, and, more than thoſe, the indignity of the treatment he was made to ſuffer, ſoon occaſioned his death. He had reigned two-and-fifty years. After his death Cappadocia was reduced into a province of the Roman empire.

This kingdom was very powerful. The revenues of Cappadocia were ſo conſiderable when Archelaus died, that Tiberius thought himſelf able, from his new acquiſition, to abate the half of a tax he had cauſed to be levied. He even gave that province ſome relief, and would not exact from it all the duties it had paid the laſt king.

The kings of Cappadocia generally reſided at Mazaca (*n*), a city ſituate upon the mountain Argea, and was governed by the laws of † Charondas. This city was built upon the river Melas, which empties itſelf into the Euphrates. A king of Cappadocia, whom Strabo only calls Ariarathes without mentioning the time when he lived, having filled up the mouths

(*n*) Strab. l. xii. p. 537, 539.

* Ille ignarus doli, vel, ſi intelligere videretur, vim metuens, in urbem properat: exceptuſque immiti a principe, & mox accuſatus a ſenatu; non ob crimina, quæ fingebantur, ſed angore, ſimul ſeſſus ſenio, & quia regibus æqua, nedum infima, inſolita ſunt, finem vitæ ſponte an fato implevit. *Tacit. Annal.* l. ii. c. 42.

† *This Charondas was a celebrated legiſlator of Græcia Major of whom mention has been made.*

mouths of this river, it overflowed all the neighbouring country; after which he cauſed ſmall iſlands to be made in it, after the manner of the Cyclades, where he paſſed part of his life in puerile diverſions. The river broke the dams of its mouths, and the waters returned into their channel. The Euphrates having received them, overflowed, and did incredible damages in Cappadocia. The Galatians, who inhabited Phrygia, ſuffered alſo great loſſes by that torrent, for which they inſiſted upon being made amends. They demanded three hundred talents of the king of Cappadocia, and made the Romans their judges.

Cappadocia abounded with horſes, aſſes (*o*), and mules. It was from thence the horſes were brought ſo particularly allotted for the uſe of the emperors, that the conſuls themſelves were forbid to have any of them. It furniſhed alſo a great number of * ſlaves and falſe witneſſes. The Cappadocians were reported to accuſtom themſelves to the bearing of torments from their infancy, and to put one another to the queſtion by the rack and other methods of torture, in order to inure themſelves againſt the pains their falſe witneſs might one day expoſe them to ſuffer. This people exceeded the Greek nation in perjury (*p*), though the latter had carried that vice to a great height, if we may believe Cicero, who aſcribes to them the having made this manner of ſpeaking common amongſt them; *Lend me your evidence* (*q*), *and I'll pay you with mine.*

Cappadocia, generally ſpeaking, was far from being a country of great geniuſſes and learned men. It has produced however ſome very celebrated authors. Strabo and Pauſanias are of that number. It was believed eſpecially, that the Cappadocians were very unfit for the profeſſion of orators; and it became

(*a*) Boch. Phaleg. l. iii. c. 11. Schol. Perſii. (*p*) Cic. pro Flac. n. 9. 10.

(*q*) *Da mihi teſtimonium mutuum*

* Mancipiis locuples eget æris Cappadonum rex. *Horat.*

came a proverb, that a * rhetorician of that country was as hard to be found as a white raven or a flying tortoise. S. Basil and S. Gregory Nazianzen are exceptions to that rule

* Θᾶττον ὖν λευκὰς κορώνας πτηνάτις χελώνας
Εὑρεῖν ἢ δύκιμον ῥήτορα Καππαδόκην.

BOOK

# BOOK THE TWENTY-FIRST.

# THE HISTORY OF SYRACUSE.

THIS twenty-firſt Book contains the concluſion of the hiſtory of Syracuſe. It may be divided into three parts. The firſt, includes the long reign of HIERO II. The ſecond, the ſhort reign of his grandſon HIERONYMUS, the troubles of Syracuſe conſequential of it, with the ſiege and taking of that city by MARCELLUS. The third is an exact abridgement of the hiſtory of Syracuſe, with ſome reflexions on the government and character of the Syracuſans, and on ARCHIMEDES.

## ARTICLE I.

SECT. I. HIERO *the Second choſen captain-general by the Syracuſans, and ſoon after appointed king. He makes an alliance with the Romans in the beginning of the firſt Punick war.*

(a) HIERO II. was deſcended from the family of Gelon, who had formerly reigned in Syracuſe. As his mother was of ſlaviſh extraction, his father Hierocles, according to the barbarous cuſtom of thoſe times, cauſed him to be expoſed ſoon after his birth; believing that the infant diſhonoured the nobility of his race. If Juſtin's fabulous account may be believed, the bees nouriſhed him ſeveral days with their honey. The oracle declaring, that ſo ſingular an event was a certain preſage of his future greatneſs, Hierocles cauſed him to be brought back to his houſe, and took all poſſible care of his education. A. M. 3700. Ant. J. C. 304.

The

(a) Juſtin. l. xxxiii. c. 4.

The child improved as much from the pains taken to form him as could be expected. He diſtinguiſhed himſelf early from all thoſe of his years, by his addreſs in military exerciſes, and his courage in battle. He acquired the eſteem of Pyrrhus, and received ſeveral rewards from his own hands. He was of a beautiful aſpect, large ſtature, and robuſt complexion. In his converſation * he was humane and polite, in buſineſs juſt, and moderate in command; ſo that he wanted nothing royal except the throne.

(*b*) Diſcord having ariſen between the citizens of Syracuſe and their troops, the latter, who were in the neighbourhood, raiſed Artemedorus and Hiero to the ſupreme command, which comprehended all authority civil and military. The latter was at that time thirty years old, but of a prudence and maturity, that promiſed a great king. Honoured with this command, by the help of ſome friends he entered the city, and having found means to bring over the adverſe party, who were intent upon nothing but raiſing diſorders, he behaved with ſo much wiſdom and greatneſs of mind, that the Syracuſans, though highly diſſatisfied with the liberty aſſumed by the ſoldiers of making ſuch an election without any right, were however unanimous in conferring upon him the title and power of ſupreme commander.

From his firſt meaſures it was eaſy to judge, that the new magiſtrate aſpired at ſomething more than that office. In effect obſerving that the troops no ſooner quitted the city, than Syracuſe was involved in new troubles by ſeditious ſpirits and lovers of novelty, he perceived how important it was in the abſence of himſelf and the army, to have ſomebody upon whom he might rely for keeping the citizens within the bounds of their duty. Leptinus ſeemed very fit for that purpoſe, he had abundance of perſons devoted to his intereſts, and was in very great credit with the people. Hiero attached him to himſelf for ever, by eſpouſing his daughter, and by the ſame alliance ſecured the publick tranquillity, during the

(*b*) Polyb. l. i. p. 8, 9.

* In alloquio blandus, in negotio juſtus, in imperio moderatus: prorſus ut nihil ei regium deeſſe, præter regnum, videretur. *Juſtin.*

the time he ſhould be obliged to remove from Syracuſe, and march at the head of the armies.

Another much bolder, though far leſs juſt, ſtroke of policy, eſtabliſhed his ſecurity and repoſe. He had every thing to fear from the foreign ſoldiers, turbulent malignant men, void of reſpect for their commanders, and of affection for a ſtate of which they made no part, ſolely actuated by the deſire of command and lucre, and always ready for a revolt; who having been bold enough to aſſume a right in the election of magiſtrates, which did not belong to them, were capable, upon the leaſt diſcontent, of attempting any thing againſt himſelf. He eaſily comprehended, that he ſhould never have the maſtery over them, from their being too well united amongſt themſelves; that if he undertook to puniſh the moſt criminal, their chaſtiſement would only provoke the reſt; and that the only means to put an end to the troubles they occaſioned, was utterly to exterminate the factious militia, whoſe licentiouſneſs and rebellious diſpoſition were only fit to corrupt others, and incline them to pernicious exceſſes. Deceived by a falſe zeal and blind love for the publick good, and ſenſibly affected alſo with the proſpect of the dangers to which he was perpetually expoſed, he thought it incumbent on him, for the ſafety of his country and ſecurity of his perſon, to proceed to a cruel and ſad extremity, equally contrary to his character and juſtice, but which ſeemed neceſſary to him in the preſent conjuncture. He therefore took the field under the pretext of marching againſt the * Mamertines. When he came within view of the enemy, he divided his army into two parts: on the one ſide he poſted ſuch of the ſoldiers as were Syracuſans: on the other, thoſe who were not ſo. He put himſelf at the head of the firſt, as if he intended an attack, and left the others expoſed to the Mamertines,



* *They were originally Campanian troops, whom Agathocles had taken into his pay, and who afterwards ſeiſed Meſſina, having firſt put the principal inhabitants to the ſword.*

who cut them in pieces: after which he returned quietly to the city with the Syracuſan troops.

The army being thus purged of all who might excite diſorders and ſedition, he raiſed a ſufficient number of new troops, and afterwards diſcharged the duties of his function in peace. The Mamertines, elate with their ſucceſs, advancing into the country, he marched againſt them with the Syracuſan troops, whom he had armed and diſciplined well, and gave them battle in the plain of Myla. A great part of the enemies were left upon the place, and their generals made priſoners. At his return he was declared king by all the citizens of Syracuſe, and afterwards by all the allies. This happened ſeven years after his being raiſed to the ſupreme authority.

A. M. 3736. Ant. J. C. 268.

It would be difficult to juſtify the manner in which he attained that eminence. Whether he put the foreign ſoldiers in motion himſelf, which ſeems probable enough, or only to lend himſelf to their zeal, it was a criminal infidelity to his country, and the publick authority, to which his example gave a mortal wound. It is true, the irregularity of his entrance upon office was ſomewhat amended, by the conſent which the people and allies afterwards gave to it. But can we ſuppoſe, in ſuch a conjuncture, that their conſent was perfectly free? As to his being elected king, there was nothing forced in that: if his ſecret ambition had any part in it, that fault was well atoned for, by his wiſe and diſintereſted conduct through the long duration of his reign and life.

The loſs of the battle we have ſpoken of entirely diſconcerted the affairs of the Mamertines. Some of them had recourſe to the Carthaginians, to whom they ſurrendered their citadel; others reſolved to abandon the city to the Romans, and ſent to deſire their aid. Hence aroſe the firſt Punick war, as I have explained more at large * elſewhere.

(*d*) Appius Claudius the conſul put to ſea, in order to aid the Mamertines. Not being able to paſs

(*d*) Frontin. Stratag. l. i. c. 4. * *Vol.* I. *Hiſtory of the Carthaginians.*

the ſtrait of Meſſina, of which the Carthaginians had poſſeſſed themſelves, he made a feint of abandoning that enterpriſe, and of returning towards Rome with all the troops he had on board his fleet. Upon this news the enemy, who blocked up Meſſina on the ſide next the ſea, having retired, as if there had been nothing further to apprehend, Appius tacked about, and paſſed the ſtrait without danger.

(*e*) The Mamertines, between menaces and ſurpriſe, having driven the officer out of the citadel, who commanded in it for the Carthaginians, they called in Appius, and opened the gates of their city to him. The Carthaginians ſoon after formed the ſiege of it, and made a treaty of alliance with Hiero, who joined his troops to theirs. The Roman conſul thought fit to venture a battle, and attacked the Syracuſans firſt. The fight was rude. Hiero ſhowed all poſſible courage, but could not reſiſt the valour of the Romans, and was obliged to give way, and retire to Syracuſe. Claudius, having obtained a like victory over the Carthaginians, ſaw himſelf maſter of the field, advanced to the walls of Syracuſe and even deſigned to have beſieged it.

(*f*) When the news of Appius's good ſucceſs arrived at Rome, it occaſioned great joy. In order to make the moſt of it, it was thought proper to uſe new efforts. The two conſuls lately elected, Manius Otacilius and Manius Valerius, were ordered into Sicily. Upon their arrival ſeveral of the Carthaginian and Syracuſan cities ſurrendered at diſcretion. A. M. 3741. Ant. J. C. 263.

The conſternation of Sicily, joined to the number and force of the Roman legions, made Hiero conceive what event this new war was likely to have. That prince was ſenſible, that he might rely upon a more faithful and conſtant amity on the ſide of the Romans. He knew that the Carthaginians had not renounced the deſign they had anciently formed, of poſſeſſing themſelves of all Sicily; and if they made them-



(*e*) Polyb. l. i. p. 10, 11. (*f*) Ibid. p. 15, 16.

themſelves maſters of Meſſina, he rightly judged his power would be very inſecure in the neighbourhood of ſuch dangerous and formidable enemies. He ſaw no other expedient for the preſervation of his kingdom, than to leave the Carthaginians engaged with the Romans; well aſſured that the war would be long and obſtinate between theſe two republicks equal in their forces, and that as long as they ſhould be at blows, he ſhould have no reaſon to apprehend being diſtreſſed either by the one or the other. He therefore ſent ambaſſadors to the conſuls to treat of peace and alliance. They were far from refuſing thoſe offers. They were too much afraid, that the Carthaginians, maſters at ſea, might cut off all paſſage for proviſions; which fear was the better founded, as the troops, who had firſt paſſed the ſtrait, had ſuffered extremely by famine. An alliance with Hiero ſecured the legions in that reſpect, and was immediately concluded. The conditions were, that the king ſhould reſtore to the Romans, without ranſom, all the priſoners he had taken from them, and pay them an hundred * talents in money.

From thenceforth Hiero ſaw no war in his dominions, nor had any other ſhare in it, than of ſending ſupplies to the Romans upon occaſion. In other reſpects he reigned as a king who had no view nor ambition but the eſteem and love of his people. No prince was ever more ſucceſsful in that point, nor longer enjoyed the fruits of his wiſdom and prudence. During more than fifty years that he lived after being elected king, whilſt all things were in flames around him, occaſioned by the cruel wars which the two moſt potent ſtates of the world made againſt each other, he was ſo prudent and happy to be no more than a ſpectator of them, and only to hear the noiſe of thoſe arms, which ſhook all the neighbouring regions; himſelf and his people retained a profound peace.

(*g*) The Romans perceived on more than one occaſion,

(*g*) Polyb. l. i. p. 18. * *An hundred thouſand crowns.*

caſion, during the firſt Punick war, and eſpecially at the ſiege of Agrigentum, with which it was in a manner opened, the importance of their alliance with Hiero, who abundantly ſupplied them with proviſions at times when the Roman army, without his aid, had been expoſed to exceſſive famine.

The interval between the end of the firſt Punick war, and the commencement of the ſecond, which was about five-and twenty years, was a time of peace and tranquillity to Hiero, in which the actions of that prince are little ſpoken of.

(*b*) Polybius only informs us, that the Carthaginians, in the unhappy war they were obliged to ſupport againſt the ſtrangers or mercenaries, which was called the African war, finding themſelves extremely preſſed had recourſe to their allies, and eſpecially to king Hiero, who granted them all they aſked of him. That prince conceived, that to ſupport himſelf in Sicily, it was neceſſary that the Carthaginians ſhould overcome in this war; leſt the ſtrangers, who had already obtained many advantages over the Carthaginians, in caſe of entire ſucceſs, ſhould find no further obſtacles to their projects, and ſhould form deſigns of bringing their victorious arms into Sicily. Perhaps alſo, as he was an excellent politician, he thought it incumbent on him to be upon his guard againſt the too great power of the Romans, who would become abſolute maſters, if the Carthaginians ſhould be entirely ruined in the war againſt the revolters. A. M. 3763. Ant. J. C. 241.

Hiero's ſole application during this long interval of peace; was to make his ſubjects happy, and to redreſs the evils, which the unjuſt government of Agathocles, who preceded him ſome years, and the inteſtine diviſions conſequential of them, had occaſioned: an employment worthy of a king. There was a levity and inconſtancy in the character of the Syracuſans, which often inclined them to exceſſive and violent reſolutions; but at bottom they were humane and equitable, and no enemies to a juſt and reaſon-



(*b*) Polyb. l. i. p. 84.

able obedience. The proof of which is, that when they were governed with wiſdom and moderation, as by Timoleon, they reſpected the authority of the laws and magiſtrates, and obeyed them with joy.

Hiero was no ſooner entered upon office, and had the ſupreme authority confided to him, than he ſhowed his deteſtation for the wretched policy of the tyrants; who, conſidering the citizens as their enemies, had no other thoughts than to weaken and intimidate them, and repoſed their whole confidence in the foreign ſoldiers, by whom they were perpetually ſurrounded. He began by putting arms into the hands of the citizens, formed them with care in the exerciſes of war, and employed them in preference to all others.

SECT. II. HIERO's *pacifick reign. He particularly favours agriculture. He applies the abilities of* ARCHIMEDES *his relation to the ſervice of the publick, and cauſes him to make an infinite number of machines for the defence of a beſieged place. He dies very old, and much regretted by the people.*

WHEN Hiero attained the ſovereign authority, his great application was to convince his ſubjects, leſs by his words than his actions, that he was infinitely remote from intending any thing to the prejudice of their fortunes or liberty. He was not intent upon being feared, but upon being loved. He looked upon himſelf leſs as their maſter, than as their protector and father. Before his reign the ſtate had been divided by two factions, that of the citizens, and that of the ſoldiers; whoſe differences, ſupported on both ſides with great animoſity, had occaſioned infinite misfortunes. He uſed his utmoſt endeavours to extinguiſh all remains of this diviſion, and to eradicate from their minds all ſeeds of diſcord and miſunderſtanding. He ſeems to have ſucceeded wonderfully in that reſpect, as during a reign of more than fifty

fifty years, no ſedition or revolt diſturbed the tranquillity of Syracuſe.

What contributed moſt, without doubt, to this happy calm, was the particular care taken by Hiero, to keep his ſubjects employed; to baniſh luxury and idleneſs, the parents of all vices, the ſource of all ſeditions, from his dominions; to ſupport and improve the natural fertility of his country; and to place agriculture in honour, which he looked upon as the certain means to render his people happy, and to diffuſe abundance throughout his kingdom. The cultivation of lands indeed, beſides employing an infinity of hands, which would otherwiſe remain idle and unprofitable, draws into a country, by the exportation of grain, the riches of the neigbouring nations, and turns their current into the houſes of the people, by a commerce renewing every year the deſerved fruit of their labour and induſtry. This is, and we cannot repeat it too often, what ought to be the peculiar attention of a wiſe government, as one of the moſt eſſential parts of wiſe and ſalutary policy, though unhappily too much neglected.

Hiero applied himſelf entirely to this end. He did not think it unworthy of the ſovereignty to ſtudy and be ſkilful in all the rules of agriculture. (*i*) He even gave himſelf the trouble to compoſe books upon that ſubject, of which we ought much to regret the loſs. But he conſidered that object of his enquiries in a manner ſtill more worthy of a king. The principal riches of the ſtate, and the moſt certain fund of the prince's revenue conſiſted in corn. He therefore believed it of the higheſt conſequence, and what demanded his utmoſt care and application, to eſtabliſh good order in that traffick, to render the condition of the huſbandman, of whom the greateſt part of the people were compoſed, ſafe and happy; to aſcertain the prince's dues, whoſe principal revenue roſe from them; to obviate ſuch diſorders as might get ground, to the prejudice of



(*i*) Polyb. l. xviii. c. 3.

his inſtitutions: and to prevent the unjuſt vexations, which endeavours might poſſibly be uſed to obtrude in the ſequel. To anſwer all theſe purpoſes, Hiero made regulations ſo wiſe, reaſonable, equitable, and at the ſame time comformable to the people's and prince's intereſts, that they became in a manner the fundamental laws of the country, and were always obſerved as ſacred and inviolable, not only in his reign but in all ſucceeding times. When the Romans had ſubjected the city and dominions of Syracuſe, they impoſed no new tributes, and decreed, * that all things ſhould be diſpoſed according to *the laws of Hiero*; in order that the Syracuſans, in changing their maſters, might have the conſolation not to change their laws; and ſee themſelves in ſome meaſure ſtill governed by a prince, whoſe name alone was always dear to them, and rendered thoſe laws exceedingly venerable.

I have obſerved, that in Sicily the prince's principal revenue conſiſted in corn; the tenth being paid him. It was therefore his intereſt that the country ſhould be well cultivated, that eſtimates ſhould be made of the value of the lands, and that they ſhould produce abundantly, as his revenue augmented in proportion to their fertility. The collectors of this tenth for the prince, which was paid in kind and not in money, were called *Decumani*, that is to ſay, *farmers of the tenths*. Hiero, in the regulations he made upon this head, did not neglect his own intereſts, which argues him a wiſe prince, and good œconomiſt. He knew very well, there was reaſon to apprehend, that the country-people, who conſider the moſt legal and moderate impoſts as intolerable burthens, might be tempted to defraud the prince of his dues. To ſpare them this temptation, he took ſuch † juſt

* Decumas lege Hieronica ſemper vendendas cenſuerunt, ut iis jucundior eſſet muneris illius functio, ſi ejus regis, qui Siculis cariſſimus fuit, non ſolum inſtituta, commutato imperio, verum etiam nomen remaneret. *Cic. Orat. in Ver. de frum.* n, 15.

† Hieronica lex omnibus cuſtodiis ſubjectum aratorem decumano tradit, ut neque in ſegetibus, neque in areis, neque in horreis,

juſt and exact precautions, that whether the corn were in the ear, on the floor to be threſhed, laid up in barns, or laden for carriage, it was not poſſible for the huſbandman to ſecrete any part of it, or to defraud the collector of a ſingle grain, without expoſing himſelf to a ſevere penalty. But he adds alſo, that Hiero had taken the ſame precautions againſt the avidity of the collectors, to whom it was equally impoſſible to extort any thing from the huſbandmen beyond the tenth. Hiero ſeems to have been very much againſt the huſbandman's quitting his home upon any pretext whatſoever. Cicero ſays accordingly, inveighing againſt Verres, who gave them great trouble, by frequent and painful journies; it is very hard and afflicting to the poor huſbandmen, to be brought from their country to the city, from their plow to the bar, and the care of tilling their lands to that of proſecuting law-ſuits. (*k*) *Miſerum atque iniquum ex agro homines traduci in forum, ab aratro ad ſubſellia, ab uſu rerum ruſticarum ad inſolitam litem atque judicium.* And beſides, can they flatter themſelves, let their cauſe be ever ſo juſt, that they ſhall carry it to the prejudice of the collectors? *Judicio ut arator decumanum proſequatur!*

Can there be any thing more to a king's praiſe than what we have now ſaid? Hiero might undertake wars, for he did not want valour, gain battles, make conqueſts, and extend the bounds of his dominions, and upon theſe accounts might paſs for a hero in the ſenſe of the generality of men. But with how many taxes muſt he have charged his people! How many huſbandmen muſt he have torn from their lands! How much blood would the gaining of thoſe victories have coſt him! And of what emolument would they have been to the ſtate! Hiero, who knew wherein true glory conſiſts, placed his in governing his people with

(*k*) Cic. Orat. in Ver. de frum. n. 14.

reis, neque in amovendo, neque in aſportando frumento, grano uno poſſet arator, ſine maxima pœna, fraudare decumanum. *Cic. Orat. in Ver. de frum.* n. 20.

with wiſdom, and in making them happy. Inſtead of conquering new countries by the force of arms, he endeavoured to multiply his own in a manner by the cultivation of lands, by rendering them more fertile than they were, and in actually multiplying his people, wherein the true force and riches of a ſtate conſiſts; and which can never fail to happen when the people of a country reap a ſeaſonable advantage from their labour.

A. M. 3786. Ant. J. C. 218. (*l*) It was in the ſecond Punick war, that Hiero gave diſtinguiſhed proofs of his attachment to the Romans. As ſoon as he received advice of Hannibal's arrival in Italy, he went with his fleet well equipped to meet Tiberius Sempronius, who was arrived at Meſſina, to offer that conſul his ſervices, and to aſſure him that advanced in age as he was, he would ſhow the ſame zeal for the Roman people, as he had formerly done in his youth, in the firſt war againſt the Carthaginians. He took upon him to ſupply the conſul's legions, and the troops of the allies, with corn and clothes at his own expence. Upon the news received the ſame inſtant, of the advantage gained by the Roman over the Carthaginian fleet, the conſul thanked the king for his advantageous offers, and made no uſe of them at that time.

(*m*) Hiero's inviolable fidelity for the Romans, which is very remarkable in his character, appears ſtill more conſpicuouſly after their defeat near the lake of Thraſymene. They had already loſt three battles againſt Hannibal, each more unfortunate and more bloody than the other. Hiero, in that mournful conjuncture, ſent a fleet laden with proviſions to the port of Oſtia. The Syracuſan ambaſſadors, upon their being introduced to the ſenate, told them, "That "Hiero, their maſter, had been as ſenſibly afflicted "on their laſt diſgrace, as if he had ſuffered it in his "own perſon. That though he well knew, that the "grandeur of the Roman people was almoſt more "ad-

(*l*) Liv. l. xxi. n. 50, 51. (*m*) Ibid. l. xxii. n. 37, 38.

" admirable in times of adverſity, than after the " moſt ſignal ſucceſſes; he had ſent them all the " aid, that could be expected from a good and " faithful ally, and earneſtly deſired the ſenate would " not refuſe to accept it. That they had particular- " ly brought a victory of gold, that weighed three " hundred pounds, which the king hoped they " would vouchſafe to receive as a favourable augury, " and a pledge of the vows which he made for their " proſperity. That they had alſo three hundred " thouſand buſhels of wheat, and two hundred thou- " ſand of barley; and that if the Roman people de- " ſired a greater quantity, Hiero would cauſe as much " as they pleaſed to be tranſported to whatever " places they ſhould appoint. That he knew the " Roman people employed none in their armies but " citizens and allies; but that he had ſeen light-armed " ſtrangers in their camp. That he had therefore " ſent them a thouſand archers and ſlingers, who " might be oppoſed ſucceſsfully to the Baleares and " Moors of Hannibal's army." They added to this aid a very ſalutary piece of counſel, which was, that the prætor, who ſhould be ſent to command in Sicily, might diſpatch a fleet to Africa, in order to find the Carthaginians ſuch employment in their own country, as might put it out of their power by that diverſion to ſend any ſuccours to Hannibal.

The ſenate anſwered the king's ambaſſadors in very obliging and honourable terms, " That Hiero " acted like a very generous prince, and a moſt " faithful ally: that from the time he had contracted " an alliance with the Romans, his attachment for " them had been conſtant and unalterable; in fine, " that in all times and places he had powerfully and " magnificently ſupported them: that the people had " a due ſenſe of ſuch generoſity: that ſome cities of " Italy had already preſented the Roman people " with gold, who, after having expreſſed their grati- " tude, had not thought fit to accept it: that the " victory was too favourable an augury not to be

" re-

" received: that they would place her in the Capitol," " that is to ſay, in the temple of the moſt high " Jupiter, in order that ſhe might eſtabliſh there her " fixed and laſting abode." All the corn and barley on board the ſhips, with the archers and ſlingers, were ſent to the conſuls.

Valerius Maximus * obſerves here, upon the noble and prudent liberality of Hiero; firſt in the generous deſign he forms, of preſenting the Romans three hundred and twenty pounds weight of gold; then in the induſtrious precaution he uſes, to prevent their refuſal to accept it. He does not offer them that gold in ſpecie; he knew the exceeding delicacy of the Roman people too well for that; but under the form of a victory, which they dared not refuſe, upon account of the good omen it ſeemed to bring along with it.

It is extraordinary to ſee a prince, whoſe dominions were ſituate as Syracuſe was in regard to Carthage, from which it had every thing to fear, at a time when Rome ſeemed near her ruin, continue unalterably faithful, and declare openly for her intereſts, notwithſtanding all the dangers to which ſo daring a conduct expoſed him. A more prudent politician, to ſpeak the uſual language, would perhaps have waited the event of a new action, and not have been ſo haſty to declare himſelf without neceſſity, and at his extreme peril. Such examples are the more eſtimable, for being rare and almoſt unparalleled.

I do not know, however, whether, even in good policy, Hiero ought not to have acted as he did. It would have been the greateſt of all misfortunes for Syracuſe, had the Carthaginians entirely ruined, or even weakened the Romans too much. That city would have immediately felt all the weight of Carthage;

* Trecenta millia modiûm tritici, & ducenta millia hordei, aurique ducenta & quadraginta pondo urbi noſtræ muneri miſit. Neque ignarus verecundiæ majorum noſtrorum, quòd nollet accipere, in habitum id victoriæ formavit, ut eos religione motos, munificentiâ ſuâ uti cogeret: voluntate mittendi priùs, iterum providentia cavendi ne remitteretur, liberalis. *Val. Max.* l. iv. c. 8.

thage; as it was ſituated over againſt it, and lay highly convenient for ſtrengthening its commerce, ſecuring it the empire of the ſea, and eſtabliſhing it entirely in Sicily, by the poſſeſſion of the whole iſland. It had therefore been imprudent to ſuffer ſuch allies to be ruined by the Carthaginians; who would not have been the better friends to the Syracuſans for their having renounced the Romans by force. It was therefore a deciſive point, to fly immediately to the aid of the Romans; and as Syracuſe would neceſſarily fall after Rome, it was abſolutely requiſite to hazard every thing, either to ſave Rome, or fall with her.

If the facts, which hiſtory has preſerved of ſo long and happy a reign, are few, they do not give us the leſs idea of this prince, and ought to make us exceedingly regret the want of a more particular information concerning his actions.

(*n*) The ſum of an hundred talents (an hundred thouſand crowns) which he ſent to the Rhodians, and thepreſents he made them after the great earthquake, which laid waſte their iſland, and threw down their Coloſſus, are illuſtrious inſtances of his liberality and magnificence. The modeſty, with which his preſents were attended, infinitely exalts the value of them. He cauſed two ſtatues to be erected in the Publick Place at Rhodes, repreſenting the people of Syracuſe placing a crown upon the head of the Rhodians; as if, ſays Polybius, Hiero, after having made that people magnificent preſents, far from aſſuming any vanity from his munificence, believed himſelf their debtor upon that very account. And indeed, the liberality and beneficence of a prince to ſtrangers is rewarded with intereſt, in the pleaſure they give himſelf, and the glory he acquires by them.

There is a paſtoral of Theocritus (*Idyll.* 16.) named after the king we ſpeak of, wherein the poet ſeems to reproach that prince tacitly, with paying very ill for the verſes made in honour of him. But the mean manner

(*n*) Polyb. l. v. p. 429.

manner in which he claims, as it were, a reward for the verſes he meditates, leaves room to conclude, that the imputation of avarice falls with more juſtice upon the poet than upon the prince, diſtinguiſhed and eſteemed, as we have ſeen, from his liberality.

(*o*) It is to Hiero's juſt taſte, and ſingular attention to every thing that affected the publick good, that Syracuſe was indebted for thoſe amazing machines of war, of which we ſhall ſoon ſee it make ſo great an uſe, when beſieged by the Romans. Though that prince ſeemed to devote his cares entirely to the tranquillity and domeſtick affairs of the kingdom, he did not neglect thoſe of war; convinced, that the ſureſt means to preſerve the peace of his dominions, was to hold himſelf always in readineſs to make war upon unjuſt neighbours, who ſhould attempt to diſturb it. He knew how to uſe the advantage of having in his dominion the moſt learned geometrician the world had ever produced; it is plain I mean Archimedes. He was illuſtrious, not only by his great ability in geometry, but his birth, as he was Hiero's relation. Senſible alone to the pleaſures of the mind, and highly averſe to the hurry and tumult of buſineſs and government, he devoted himſelf ſolely to the ſtudy of a ſcience, whoſe ſublime ſpeculations of truths purely intellectual and ſpiritual, and entirely diſtinct from matter, have ſuch attraction with the learned of the firſt rank, as ſcarce leaves them at liberty to apply themſelves to any other objects.

Hiero had, however, ſufficient power with Archimedes, to engage him to deſcend from thoſe lofty ſpeculations to the practice of the mechanicks, which depend on the hand, but are diſpoſed and directed by the head. He preſſed him continually, not to employ his art always in ſoaring after immaterial and intellectual objects, but to bring it down to ſenſible and corporeal things, and to render his reaſonings in ſome meaſure

(*o*) Plut. in Marcel. p. 305, 306.

meaſure more evident and familiar to the generality of mankind, by joining them experimentally with things of uſe.

Archimedes frequently converſed with the king, who always heard him with great attention and extreme pleaſure. One day, when he was explaining to him the wonderful effects of the power of motion, he proceeded to demonſtrate, *That with a certain given power any weight whatſoever might be moved.* And applauding himſelf afterwards on the force of his demonſtration, he ventured to boaſt, that if there were another world beſides this we inhabit, by going to that he could remove this at pleaſure. The king, ſurpriſed and delighted, deſired him to put his poſition in execution, by removing ſome great weight with a ſmall force.

Archimedes preparing to ſatisfy the juſt and rational curioſity of his kinſman and friend, he choſe one of the galleys in that port, cauſed it to be drawn on ſhore with great labour, and by abundance of men. He then ordered its uſual lading to be put on board, and beſides that, as many men, as it could hold. Afterwards placed himſelf at ſome diſtance, and ſitting at his eaſe, without trouble, or exerting his ſtrength in the leaſt, by only moving with his hand the end of a machine, which he had provided with cords and pullies, he drew the galley to him upon the land, with as much eaſe, and as upright, as if it had ſwam upon the water.

The king, upon the ſight of ſo prodigious an effect of the power of motion, was entirely aſtoniſhed; and judged from that experiment the efficacy of the art, he earneſtly ſollicited Archimedes to make ſeveral ſorts of machines and battering engines for ſieges and attacks, as well for the defence as aſſault of places.

It has been ſometimes aſked, whether the ſublime knowledge, of which we ſpeak, be neceſſary to a king; and if the ſtudy of arts and ſciences ought to be a part of the education of a young prince? What

What we read here demonſtrates their utility. If king Hiero had wanted taſte and curioſity, and employed himſelf ſolely in his pleaſures, Archimedes had remained inactive in his cloſet, and all his extraordinary ſcience been of no advantage to his country. What treaſures of uſeful knowledge lie buried in obſcurity, and in a manner hid under the earth, becauſe princes ſet no value upon learned men, and conſider them as perſons uſeleſs to the ſtate! But when, in their youth, they have imbibed ſome ſmall tincture of arts and ſciences, for the ſtudy of princes ought to extend no farther in that point, they eſteem ſuch as diſtinguiſhed themſelves by learning, ſometimes converſe with them, and place them in honour, and by ſo glorious a protection, make way for valuable diſcoveries, of which the ſtate ſoon reaps the advantage. Syracuſe had this obligation to Hiero; which, without doubt, was the effect of his excellent education; for he had been bred with uncommon care and attention.

What has been ſaid hitherto of Archimedes, and what we ſhall preſently add upon the admirable machines of war, which were uſed during the ſiege of Syracuſe, ſhows how wrong it is to deſpiſe thoſe ſublime and ſpeculative ſciences, whoſe only objects are ſimple and abſtract ideas. It is true, that all mere geometrical or algebraical ſpeculations do not relate to uſeful things. But it is alſo as true, that moſt of thoſe, which have not that relation, conduct or refer to thoſe that have. They may appear unprofitable, as long as they do not derive from this real intellectual world; but the mixed mathematicks, which deſcend to matter, and conſider the motions of the ſtars, the perfect knowledge of the navigation, the art of drawing remote objects near by the aſſiſtance of teleſcopes, the increaſe of the powers of motion, the nice exactitude of the balance, and other the like objects, become more eaſy of acceſs, and in a manner familiariſe themſelves with the vulgar. The labour of Archimedes was long obſcure, and perhaps con-

contemned, becauſe he confined himſelf to ſimple and barren ſpeculations. Ought we therefore to conclude, that it was uſeleſs and unprofitable? It was from that very ſource of knowledge, buried till then in obſcurity, from which ſhot forth thoſe living lights, and wonderful diſcoveries, which diſplayed from their birth a ſenſible and manifeſt utility, and gave the Romans aſtoniſhment and deſpair when they beſieged Syracuſe.

Hiero was great and magnificent in all things, in building palaces, arſenals, and temples. He cauſed an infinite number of ſhips of all burthens to be built for the exportation of corn; a commerce, in which almoſt the whole wealth of the iſland conſiſted. (*p*) We are told of a galley built by his order, under the direction of Archimedes, which was reckoned one of the moſt famous ſtructures of antiquity. It was a whole year in building. Hiero paſſed whole days amongſt the workmen, to animate them by his preſence.

This ſhip had twenty benches of oars. The enormous pile was faſtened together on all ſides with huge nails of copper, which weighed each ten pounds and upwards.

The inſide had in it three galleries or corridores, the loweſt of which led to the hold by a deſcent of ſtairs, the ſecond to apartments, and the firſt to ſoldiers lodgings.

On the right and left ſide of the middle gallery, there were to the number of thirty apartments; in each of which were four beds for men. The apartment for the officers and ſeamen had fifteen beds, and three great rooms for eating; the laſt of which, that was at the poop, ſerved for a kitchen. All the floors of theſe apartments were inlaid with ſmall ſtories in different colours, taken from the Iliad of Homer. The ceilings, windows, and all the other parts, were finiſhed with wonderful art, and embelliſhed with all kinds of ornaments.



(*p*) Athen. l. iii. p. 206—290.

In the uppermoſt gallery, there was a gymnaſium, or place of exerciſe, and walks proportionate to the magnitude of the ſhip. In them were gardens and plants of all kinds, diſpoſed in wonderful order. Pipes, ſome of hardened clay, and others of lead, conveyed water all around to refreſh them. There were alſo arbours of ivy and vines, that had their roots in great veſſels filled with earth. Theſe veſſels were watered in the ſame manner as the gardens. The arbours ſerved to ſhade the walks.

After theſe came the apartment of Venus with three beds. This was floored with agates and other precious ſtones, the fineſt that could be found in the iſland. The walls and roof were of cypreſs wood. The windows were adorned with ivory, paintings, and ſmall ſtatues. In another apartment was a library, at the top of which, on the outſide, was fixed a ſun-dial.

There was alſo an apartment with three beds for a bath, in which were three great coppers, and a bathing veſſel, made of a ſingle ſtone of various colours. This veſſel contained two hundred and fifty quarts. At the ſhip's head was a great reſervoir of water, which held an hundred thouſand quarts.

All round the ſhip on the outſide were Atlaſſes of ſix cubits, or nine feet, in height, which ſupported the ſides of the ſhip; theſe Atlaſſes were at equal diſtances from each other. The ſhip was adorned on all ſides with paintings, and had eight towers proportioned to its bigneſs; two at the head, two at the ſtern, and four in the middle, of equal dimenſions. Upon theſe towers were parapets, from which ſtones might be diſcharged upon the ſhips of an enemy, that ſhould approach too near. Each tower was guarded by four young men completely armed, and two archers. The inſide of them was filled with ſtones and arrows.

Upon the ſide of the veſſel, well ſtrengthened with planks, was a kind of rampart, on which was an engine to diſcharge ſtones, made by Archimedes: it threw

hrew a ſtone of three hundred weight, and an arrow of twelve cubits (eighteen feet) the diſtance of a ſtadium, or an hundred and twenty-five paces from it.

The ſhip had three maſts, at each of which were two machines to diſcharge ſtones. There alſo were the hooks and lumps of lead to throw upon ſuch as approached. The whole ſhip was ſurrounded with a rampart of iron to keep off thoſe who ſhould attempt to board it. All around were iron grapplings (*corvi*) which, being thrown by machines, grappled the veſſels of the enemy, and drew them cloſe to the ſhip, from whence it was eaſy to deſtroy them. On each of the ſides were ſixty young men completely armed, and as many about the maſts, and at the machines for throwing ſtones.

Though the hold of this ſhip was extremely deep, one man ſufficed for clearing it of all water, with a machine, made in the nature of a ſcrew, invented by Archimedes. An Athenian poet of that name made an epigram upon this ſuperb veſſel, for which he was well paid. Hiero ſent him a thouſand *medimni* of corn as a reward, and cauſed them to be carried to the port Pyræeum. The medimnus, according to father Montfaucon, is a meaſure, that contains ſix buſhels. This epigram is come down to us. The value of verſe was known at that time in Syracuſe.

Hiero having found that there was no port in Sicily capable of containing this veſſel, except ſome, where it could not lie at anchor without danger, reſolved to make a preſent of it to king * Ptolemy, and ſent it to Alexandria. There was at that time a great dearth of corn throughout all Egypt.

Several other veſſels of leſs burthen attended this great ſhip. Three hundred thouſand quarters of corn were put on board them, with ten thouſand great earthen jars of ſalted fiſh, twenty thouſand quintals (or two millions of pounds) of ſalt meat,



* *There is reaſon to believe this was Ptolemy Philadelphus.*

twenty thouſand bundles of different clothes, without including the proviſions for the ſhips crews and officers.

To avoid too much prolixity, I have retrenched ſome part of the deſcription Athenæus has left us of this great ſhip. I ſhould have been glad, that, to have given us a better idea of it, he had mentioned the exact dimenſions of it. Had he added a word upon the benches of oars, it would have cleared up and determined a queſtion, which without it muſt for ever remain doubtful and obſcure.

Hiero's faith was put to a very ſevere trial, after the bloody defeat of the Romans in the battle of Cannæ, which was followed by an almoſt univerſal defection of their allies. But the waſting of his dominions by the Carthaginian troops, which their fleet had landed in Sicily, was not capable of changing him. (*p*) He was only afflicted to ſee that the contagion had ſpread even to his own family. He had a ſon named Gelon, who married Nereis the daughter of Pyrrhus, by whom he had ſeveral children, and amongſt others Hieronymus, of whom we ſhall ſoon ſpeak. Gelon, deſpiſing his father's great age, and ſetting no value on the alliance of the Romans, after their laſt diſgrace at Cannæ, had declared openly for the Carthaginians. He had already armed the multitude, and ſollicited the allies of Syracuſe to join him; and would * perhaps have occaſioned great troubles in Sicily, if a ſudden and unexpected death had not intervened. It happened ſo opportunely, that his father was ſuſpected of having promoted it. He did not ſurvive his ſon long, and died at the age of fourſcore and ten years, infinitely regretted by his people, after having reigned fifty-four years.

A. M. 3789. Ant. J. C. 215.

(*p*) Liv. l. xxxiii. n. 30.

* Moviſſetque in Sicilia res, niſi mors, adeo opportuna ut patrem quoque ſuſpicione adſpergeret, arcantem eum multitudinem, ſollicitantemque ſocios, abſumpſiſſet. *Liv.*

ARTICLE

## ARTICLE II.

SECT. I. HIERONYMUS, *grandſon of* HIERO, *ſucceeds him, and cauſes him to be regretted by his vices and cruelty. He is killed in a conſpiracy. Barbarous murther of the princeſſes.* HIPPOCRATES *and* EPICYDES *poſſeſs themſelves of the government of Syracuſe, and declare for the Carthaginians, as* HIERONYMUS *had done.*

THE death of Hiero occaſioned great revolutions in Sicily. The kingdom was fallen into the hands of Hieronymus his grandſon, a young * prince, incapable of making a wiſe uſe of his independency, and far from reſiſting the ſeducing impreſſions of ſovereign power. Hiero's apprehenſions, that the flouriſhing condition in which he left his kingdom would ſoon change under an infant king, ſuggeſted to him the thought and deſire of reſtoring their liberty to the Syracuſans. But his two daughters oppoſed that deſign with their whole credit; from the hope, that the young prince would have only the title of king, and that they ſhould have all the authority, in conjunction with their huſbands, Andranadorus and Zoippus, who held the firſt rank amongſt his guardians †. It was not eaſy for an old man of ninety, to hold out againſt the careſſes and arts of thoſe two women, who beſieged him day and night, to preſerve the freedom of his mind againſt their preſſing and aſſiduous inſinuations, and to ſacrifice with courage the intereſts of his family to thoſe of the publick.

To prevent as far as poſſible the evils he foreſaw, he appointed him fifteen guardians, who were to form his counſel; and earneſtly deſired them, at his death, never to depart from the alliance with the Romans, to which he had inviolably adhered for fifty years,



* Puerum, vix dum libertatem, nedum dominationem, modicè laturum. *Liv.*

† Non facile erat nonageſimum jam agenti annum, circumſeſſo dies noctesque muliebribus blanditiis, liberare animum, & convertere ad publicam privata curam. *Liv.*

and to teach the young prince to tread in his ſteps, and to follow the principles in which he had been educated till then.

The king, dying after theſe diſpoſitions, the guardians he had appointed his grandſon immediately ſummoned the aſſembly, preſented the young prince to the people, and cauſed the will to be read. A ſmall number of people, expreſsly placed to applaud it, clapped their hands, and raiſed acclamations of joy. All the reſt, in a conſternation equal to that of a family who have lately loſt a good father, kept a mournful ſilence, which ſufficiently expreſſed their grief for their loſs, and their apprehenſion of what was to come. His * funeral was afterwards ſolemnized, and more honoured by the ſorrow and tears of his ſubjects, than the care and regard of his relations for his memory.

Andranadorus's firſt care was to remove all the other guardians, by telling them roundly, the prince was of age to govern for himſelf.

He was at that time near fifteen years old. So that Andranadorus, being the firſt to renounce the guardianſhip held by him in common with many colleagues, united in his own perſon all their power. The diſpoſitions, made by the wiſeſt princes at their deaths, are often little regarded, and ſeldom executed afterwards.

The † beſt and moſt moderate prince in the world, ſucceeding a king ſo well beloved by his ſubjects, as Hiero had been, would have found it very difficult to conſole them for the loſs they had ſuſtained. But Hieronymus, as if he had ſtrove by his vices to make him ſtill more regretted, no ſooner aſcended the throne, than he made the people ſenſible how much all things were altered. Neither king Hiero, nor Gelon

* Funus fit regium, magis amore civium & caritate, quam cura ſuorum celebre. *Liv.*

† Vix quidem ulli bono moderatoque regi facilis erat favor apud Syracuſanos, ſuccedenti tantæ caritati Hieronis. Verum enimvero Hieronymus, velut ſuis vitiis deſiderabilem efficere vellet avum, primo ſtatim conſpectu, omnia quam diſparia eſſent oſtendit. *Liv.*

Gelon his ſon, during ſo many years, had ever diſtinguiſhed themſelves from the other citizens by their habits, or any other ornaments intimating pride. Hieronymus was preſently ſeen in a purple robe, with a diadem on his head, and ſurrounded by a troop of armed guards. Sometimes he affected to imitate Dionyſius the tyrant, in coming out of his palace, in a chariot drawn by four white horſes. All the * reſt of his conduct was ſuitable to this equipage: a viſible contempt for all the world, haughty and diſdainful, in hearing, and affectation of ſaying, diſobliging things, ſo difficult of acceſs, that not only ſtrangers, but even his guardians, could ſcarce approach him; a refinement of taſte in diſcovering new methods of debauch; a cruelty ſo exceſſive, as to exſtinguiſh all ſenſe of humanity in him: this odious diſpoſition of the young king terrified the people to ſuch a degree, that even ſome of his guardians, to eſcape his cruelty, either put themſelves to death, or condemned themſelves to voluntary baniſhment.

Only three men, Andranadorus and Zoippus, both Hiero's ſons-in-law, and Thraſo, had a great freedom of acceſs to the young king. He liſtened a little more to them than to the others; but as the two firſt openly declared for the Carthaginians, and the latter for the Romans, that difference of ſentiments, and very warm diſputes frequently the conſequence of it, drew upon them that prince's attention.

About this time a conſpiracy againſt the life of Hieronymus happened to be diſcovered. One of the principal conſpirators, named Theodotus, was accuſed. Being put to the queſtion, he confeſſed the crime as to himſelf; but all the violence of the moſt cruel torments could not make him betray his accomplices. At length, as if no longer able to ſupport the pains inflicted on him, he accuſed the king's beſt friends,



* Hunc tam ſuperbum apparatum habitumque convenientes ſequebantur contemptus omnium hominum, ſuperbæ aures, contumelioſa dicta, rari aditus, non alienis modò ſed tutoribus etiam liberdines novæ, inhumana ceritas. *Liv.*

though innocent, amongſt whom he named Thraſo, as the ringleader of the whole enterpriſe; adding, that they ſhould never have engaged in it, if a man of his credit had not been at their head. The zeal he had always expreſſed for the Roman intereſts, rendered the evidence probable; and he was accordingly put to death. Not one of the accomplices, during their companions being tortured, either fled or concealed himſelf; ſo much they relied upon the fidelity of Theodotus, who had the fortitude to keep the ſecret inviolable.

The death of Thraſo, who was the ſole ſupport of the alliance with the Romans, left the field open to the partiſans of Carthage. Hieronymus diſpatched ambaſſadors to Hannibal, who ſent back a young Carthaginian officer of illuſtrious birth, named alſo Hannibal, with Hippocrates and Epicydes, natives of Carthage, but deſcended from the Syracuſans by their father. After the treaty with Hieronymus was concluded, the young officer returned to his general; the two others continued with the king by Hannibal's permiſſion. The conditions of the treaty were, That after having driven the Romans out of Sicily, of which they fully aſſured themſelves, the river Himera, which almoſt divides the iſland, ſhould be the boundary of their reſpective dominions. Hieronymus, blown up by the praiſes of his flatterers, demanded, even ſome time after, that all Sicily ſhould be given up to him, leaving the Carthaginians Italy for their part. The propoſal appeared idle and raſh, but Hannibal gave very little attention to it, having no other view at that time, than of drawing off the young king from the party of the Romans.

Upon the firſt rumour of this treaty, Appius, prætor of Sicily, ſent ambaſſadours to Hieronymus, to renew the alliance made by his grandfather with the Romans. That proud prince received them with great contempt; aſking them, with an air of raillery and inſult, what had paſſed at the battle of Cannæ; that Hannibal's ambaſſadors had related incredible things

things of it; that it was eaſy to know the truth from their mouths, and thence to determine upon the choice of his allies. The Romans made anſwer, that they would return to him, when he had learnt to treat ambaſſadors ſeriouſly and with reaſon; and, after having cautioned rather than deſired him not to change ſides too raſhly, they withdrew.

At length his cruelty, and the other vices to which he blindly abandoned himſelf, drew upon him an unfortunate end. Thoſe, who had formed the conſpiracy mentioned before, purſued their ſcheme; and, having found a favourable opportunity for the execution of their enterpriſe, killed him in the city of the Leontines, on a journey he made from Syracuſe into the country.

Here is a ſenſible inſtance of the difference between a king and a tyrant; and that it is not in guards or arms the ſecurity of a prince conſiſts, but the affection of his ſubjects. Hiero, from being convinced, that thoſe who have the laws in their hands for the government of the people, ought always to govern themſelves by the laws, behaved in ſuch a manner, that it might be ſaid, the law and not Hiero reigned. He believed himſelf rich and powerful for no other end, than to do good, and to render others happy. He had no occaſion to take precautions for the ſecurity of his life: he had always the ſureſt guard about him, the love of his people; and Syracuſe was afraid of nothing ſo much as of loſing him. Hence he was lamented at his death as the common father of his country. Not only their mouths but hearts were long after filled with his name, and inceſſantly bleſſed his memory. Hieronymus, on the contrary, who had no other rule of conduct but violence, regarded all other men as born ſolely for himſelf, and valued himſelf upon governing them not as ſubjects but ſlaves, led the wretchedeſt life in the world, if to live were to paſs his days in continual apprehenſion and terrour. As he truſted nobody, nobody placed any confidence in him. Thoſe who were neareſt his perſon,

ſon, were the moſt expoſed to his ſuſpicions and cruelty, and thought they had no other ſecurity for their own lives, than by putting an end to his. Thus ended a reign of ſhort duration, but abounding with diſorders, injuſtice, and oppreſſion.

A. M. 3790. Ant. J. C. 214. (r) Appius, who foreſaw the conſequence of his death, gave the ſenate advice of all that had paſſed, and took the neceſſary precautions to preſerve that part of Sicily, which belonged to the Romans. They, on their ſide, perceiving the war in Sicily was likely to become important, ſent Marcellus thither, who had been appointed conſul with Fabius, in the beginning of the fifth year of the ſecond Punick war, and had diſtinguiſhed himſelf glorioufly by his ſucceſſes againſt Hannibal.

When Hieronymus was killed, the ſoldiers, leſs out of affection for him, than a certain natural reſpect for their kings, had thoughts at firſt of avenging his death upon the conſpirators. But the grateful name of the liberty, by which they were flattered, and the hope that was given them of the diviſion of the tyrant's treaſures amongſt them, and of additional pay, with the recital of his horrid crimes and ſhameful exceſſes, all together appeaſed their firſt heat, and changed their diſpoſition in ſuch a manner, that they left the prince's body without interment, for whom they had juſt before expreſſed ſo warm a regret.

As ſoon as the death of Hieronymus was known at Syracuſe, Andranadorus ſeiſed the iſle, which was part of the city, with the citadel, and ſuch other places, as were moſt proper for his defence in it; putting good garriſons into them. Theodorus and Soſis, heads of the conſpiracy, having left their accomplices with the army, to keep the ſoldiers quiet, arrived ſoon after at the city. They made themſelves maſters of the quarter Achradina, where, by ſhowing the tyrant's bloody robe, with his diadem, to the people, and exhorting them to take arms for the defence

(r) Liv. l. xxiv. n. 21—35.

fence of their liberty, they ſoon ſaw themſelves at the head of a numerous body.

The whole city was in confuſion. The next day, at ſun-riſe, all the people, armed and unarmed, ran to the quarter Achradina, where the ſenate was aſſembled, which had neither ſate, nor been conſulted upon any affair, from Hiero's death. Polyænus, one of the ſenators, ſpoke to the people with great freedom and moderation. He repreſented, "that having experienced the indignities and miſeries of "ſlavery, they were moſt ſenſibly affected with them; "but that as to the evils occaſioned by civil diſcord, "they had rather heard them ſpoken of by their fa"thers, than been acquainted with them themſelves: "that he commended their readineſs in taking arms, "and ſhould praiſe them ſtill more, if they did "not proceed to uſe them till the laſt extremity: "that at preſent it was his advice to ſend depu"ties to Andranadorus, and to let him know he "muſt ſubmit to the ſenate, open the gates of the "iſle, and withdraw his garriſons: that if he per"ſiſted in his uſurpation, it would be neceſſary to "treat him with more rigour than Hieronymus had "experienced."

This deputation at firſt made ſome impreſſion upon him; whether he ſtill retained a reſpect for the ſenate, and was moved with the unanimous concurrence of the citizens; or, becauſe the beſt fortified part of the iſle having been taken from him by treachery, and ſurrendered to the Syracuſans; that loſs gave him juſt apprehenſions. But * his wife Demarata, Hiero's daughter, an haughty and ambitious princeſs, having taken him aſide, put him in mind of the famous ſaying of Dionyſius the tyrant, "*That it was never pro*"*per to quit the ſaddle* (i. e. *the tyranny*) *till pulled off* "*the horſe by the heels:* that a great fortune might "be renounced in a moment; but that it would coſt "abun-

* Sed evocatum eum ab legatis Demarata uxor, filia Hieronis, inflata adhûc regiis animis ac muliebri ſpiritu, admonet ſæpe uſurpatæ Dionyſii tyranni vocis: quæ, pedibus tractum, non inſidentem equo, relinquere tyrannidem dixerit debere.

" abundance of time and pains to attain it: that it " was therefore neceſſary to endeavour to gain time; " and whilſt he amuſed the ſenate by ambiguous an- " ſwers, to treat privately with the ſoldiers at Leon- " tium, whom it was eaſy to bring over to his in- " tereſt, by the attraction of the king's treaſures in " his poſſeſſion."

Andranadorus did not entirely reject this counſel, nor think proper to give into it without reſerve. He choſe a mean between both. He promiſed to ſubmit to the ſenate, in expectation of a more favourable opportunity; and the next day having thrown open the gates of the iſle, repaired to the quarter Achradina; and there, after having excuſed his delay and reſiſtance, from the fear he had been in of being involved in the tyrant's puniſhment, as his uncle, he declared, that he was come to put his perſon and intereſts into the hands of the ſenate. Then turning towards the tyrant's murtherers, and addreſſing himſelf to Theodotus and Soſis; " You have done," ſaid he, " a memo- " rable action. But believe me your glory is only " begun, and has not yet attained the height of " which it is capable. If you do not take care to " eſtabliſh peace and union amongſt the citizens, the " ſtate is in great danger of expiring, and of being " deſtroyed at the very moment ſhe begins to taſte " the bleſſings of liberty." After this diſcourſe, he laid the keys of the iſle and of the king's treaſures at their feet. The whole city was highly rejoiced on this occaſion, and the temples were thronged during the reſt of the day with infinite numbers of people, who went thither to return thanks to the gods for ſo happy a change of affairs.

The next day the ſenate being aſſembled according to the ancient cuſtom, magiſtrates were appointed, amongſt the principal of whom Andranadorus was elected, with Theodotus and Soſis, and ſome others of the conſpirators who were abſent.

On the other ſide, Hippocrates and Epicydes, whom Hieronymus had ſent at the head of two thou-

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ſand men, to endeavour to excite troubles in the cities which continued to adhere to the Romans, ſeeing themſelves, upon the news of the tyrant's death, abandoned by the ſoldiers under their command, returned to Syracuſe, where they demanded to be eſcorted in ſafety to Hannibal, having no longer any buſineſs in Sicily after the death of him, to whom they had been ſent by that general. The Syracuſans were not ſorry to part with thoſe two ſtrangers, who were of a turbulent factious diſpoſition, and well experienced in military affairs. There is in moſt affairs a deciſive moment, which never returns after having been once let ſlip. The negligence in aſſigning the time for their departure, gave them opportunity to inſinuate themſelves into the favour of the ſoldiers who eſteemed them upon account of their abilities, and to give them a diſguſt for the ſenate, and the better inclined part of the citizens.

Andranadorus, whoſe wife's ambition would never let him reſt, and who, till then, had covered his deſigns with ſmooth diſſimulation, believing it a proper time for diſcloſing them, conſpired with Themiſtus, Gelon's ſon-in-law, to ſeiſe the ſovereignty. He communicated his views to a comedian named Ariſton, from whom he kept nothing ſecret. That profeſſion was not at all diſhonourable among the Greeks, and was exerciſed by perſons of no ignoble condition. Ariſton, believing it his duty, as it really was, to ſacrifice his friend to his country, diſcovered the conſpiracy. Andranadorus and Themiſtus were immediately killed by order of the other magiſtrates, as they entered the ſenate. The people roſe, and threatened to revenge their deaths; but were deterred from it, by the ſight of the dead bodies of the two conſpirators which were thrown out of the ſenate-houſe. They were then informed of their pernicious deſigns; to which all the misfortunes of Sicily were aſcribed, rather than to the wickedneſs of Hieronymus, who being only a youth, had acted entirely by their counſels. They inſinuated, that his guardians and tutors had reigned

reigned in his name: that they ought to have been cut off before Hieronymus, or at leaſt with him: that impunity had carried them on to commit new crimes, and to aſpire to the tyranny: that not being able to ſucceed in their deſign by force, they had employed diſſimulation and perfidy. That neither favours and honours had been capable to overcome the wicked diſpoſition of Andranadorus; nor the electing him one of the ſupreme magiſtrates amongſt the deliverers of their country, him, who was the declared enemy of liberty: that as to the reſt, they had been inſpired with their ambition of reigning by the princeſſes of the blood royal, whom they had married, the one Hiero's, the other Gelon's daughter.

At thoſe words the whole aſſembly cried out, that not one of them ought to be ſuffered to live, and that it was neceſſary to extirpate entirely the race of the tyrants, without any reſerve or exception. * Such is the nature of the multitude. It either abjectly abandons itſelf to ſlavery, or lords it with inſolence. But with regard to liberty, which holds the mean betwixt thoſe extremes, it neither knows how to be without it, or to uſe it; and has always too many flatterers ready to enter into its paſſions, enflame its rage, and hurry it on to exceſſive violences, and the moſt inhuman cruelties, to which it is but too much inclined of itſelf; as was the caſe at this time. At the requeſt of the magiſtrates, which was almoſt ſooner accepted than propoſed, they decreed that the royal family ſhould be entirely deſtroyed.

Demarata Hiero's, and Harmonia Gelon's daughter, the firſt married to Andranadorus, and the other to Themiſtus, were killed firſt. From thence they went to the houſe of Heraclea, wife of Zoippus; who having been ſent on an embaſſy to Ptolemy king of Egypt,

* Hæc natura multitudinis eſt; aut ſervit humiliter, aut ſuperbè dominatur: libertatem, quæ media eſt, nec ſpernere modicè, nec habere ſciunt. Et non fermè deſunt irarum indulgentes miniſtri, qui avidos atque intemperantes plebeiorum animos ad ſanguinem & cædes irritent. *Liv.*

Egypt, remained there in voluntary baniſhment, to avoid being witneſs of the miſeries of his country. Having been apprized, that they were coming to her, that unfortunate princeſs had taken refuge with her two daughters in the moſt remote part of her houſe, near her houſehold gods. When the aſſaſſins arrived there, with her hair looſe and diſordered, her face bathed in tears, and in a condition moſt proper to excite compaſſion. ſhe conjured them, in a faultering voice, interrupted with ſighs, in the name of Hiero her father, and Gelon her brother, "Not to involve "an innocent princeſs in the guilt and misfortunes "of Hieronymus. She repreſented to them, that her "huſband's baniſhment had been to her the ſole fruit "of that reign: that not having had any ſhare in "the fortunes and deſigns of her ſiſter Demarata, ſhe "ought to have none in her puniſhment. Beſides, "what was there to fear either from her, in the for-"lorn condition and almoſt widowhood to which "ſhe was reduced, or from her daughters, unhappy "orphans, without credit or ſupport? That if the "royal family were become ſo odious to Syracuſe, "that it could not bear the ſight of them, they "might be baniſhed to Alexandria, the wife to her "huſband, the daughters to their father." When ſhe ſaw them inflexible to her remonſtrances, forgetting herſelf, ſhe implored them at leaſt to ſave the lives of the princeſſes her daughters, both of an age to inſpire the moſt inveterate and furious enemies with compaſſion: but her diſcourſe made no impreſſion upon the minds of thoſe Barbarians. Having torn her in a manner from the arms of her houſehold gods, they ſtabbed her to death in the ſight of her two daughters, and ſoon after cut their throats, already ſtained, and covered with the blood of their mother. What was ſtill more deplorable in their deſtiny was, that immediately after their death, an order of the people's came for ſparing their lives.

From compaſſion, the people in a moment proceeded to rage and fury againſt thoſe, who had been

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ſo haſty in the execution, and had not left them time for reflection or repentance. They demanded that magiſtrates ſhould be nominated in the room of Andranadorus and Themiſtus. They were a long time in ſuſpenſe upon this choice. At length, ſomebody in the crowd of the people happened to name Epicydes, another immediately mentioned Hippocrates. Thoſe two perſons were demanded with ſo much ardour by the multitude, which conſiſted of citizens and ſoldiers, that the ſenate could not prevent their being created.

The new magiſtrates did not immediately diſcover the deſign they had, of re-inſtating Syracuſe in the intereſts of Hannibal. But they had ſeen with pain the meaſures, which had been taken before they were in office. For immediately after the re-eſtabliſhment of liberty, ambaſſadors had been ſent to Appius, to propoſe renewing the alliance, broken by Hieronymus. He had referred them to Marcellus, who was lately arrived in Sicily, with an authority ſuperior to his own. Marcellus, in his turn, ſent deputies to the magiſtrates of Syracuſe, to treat of peace.

Upon arriving there, they found the ſtate of affairs much altered. Hippocrates and Epicydes, at firſt by ſecret practices, and afterwards by open complaints, had inſpired every body with great averſion for the Romans; giving out, that deſigns were formed for putting Syracuſe into their hands. The behaviour of Appius, who had approached the entrance of the port with his fleet, to encourage the party in the Roman intereſt, ſtrengthened thoſe ſuſpicions and accuſations ſo much, that the people ran tumultuouſly to prevent the Romans from landing, in caſe they ſhould have that deſign.

In this trouble and confuſion it was thought proper to ſummon the aſſembly of the people. Opinions differed very much in it; and the heat of debates giving reaſon to fear ſome ſedition, Apollonides, one of the principal ſenators, made a diſcourſe very ſuitable to the conjuncture. He intimated, "that never

"city

" city was nearer its deſtruction or preſervation than " Syracuſe actually was at that time: that if they " all with unanimous conſent ſhould join either the " Romans or Carthaginians, their conditions would " be happy: that if they were divided, the war " would neither be more warm nor more dangerous " between the Romans and Carthaginians, than be- " tween the Syracuſans themſelves againſt each other, " as both parties muſt neceſſarily have, within the " circumference of their own walls, their own troops, " armies, and generals: that it was therefore ab- " ſolutely requiſite to make their agreement and " union amongſt themſelves their ſole care and appli- " cation; and that to know which of the two alli- " ances was to be preferred, was not now the moſt " important queſtion: that for the reſt, the authority " of Hiero, in his opinion, ought to carry it againſt that " of Hieronymus, and that the amity of the Romans, " happily experienced for fifty years together, ſeemed " preferable to that of the Carthaginians, upon " which they could not much rely for the preſent, " and with which they had as little reaſon to be ſa- " tisfied with regard to the paſt. He added a laſt " motive of no mean force, which was, that in de- " claring againſt the Romans, they would have " the war immediately upon their hands; whereas, " on the ſide of Carthage, the danger was more re- " mote."

The leſs paſſionate this diſcourſe appeared, the more effect it had. It induced them to deſire the opinion of the ſeveral bodies of the ſtate; and the principal officers of the troops, as well natives as foreigners, were requeſted to confer together. The affair was long diſcuſſed with great warmth. At length, as it appeared that there was no preſent means for ſupporting the war againſt the Romans, a peace with them was reſolved, and ambaſſadors ſent to conclude it.

Some days after this reſolution had been taken, the Leontines ſent to demand aid of Syracuſe, for the

defence of their frontiers. This deputation ſeemed to come very ſeaſonably for diſcharging the city of a turbulent unruly multitude, and removing their no leſs dangerous leaders. Four thouſand men were ordered to march under the command of Hippocrates of whom they were glad to be rid, and who was not ſorry himſelf for the occaſion they gave him to embroil affairs. For he no ſooner arrived upon the frontier of the Roman province, than he plundered it, and cut in pieces a body of troops ſent by Appius to its defence. Marcellus complained to the Syracuſans of this act of hoſtility, and demanded, that this ſtranger ſhould be baniſhed from Sicily with his brother Epicydes; who having repaired about the ſame time to Leontium, had endeavoured to embroil the inhabitants with the people of Syracuſe, by exhorting them to reſume their liberty as well as the Syracuſans. The city of the Leontines was dependent on Syracuſe; but pretended at this time to throw off the yoke, and to act independently of the Syracuſans, as an entirely free city. Hence, when the Syracuſans ſent to complain of the hoſtilities committed againſt the Romans, and to demand the expulſion of the two Carthaginian brothers, the Leontines replied, that they had not empowered the Syracuſans to make peace for them with the Romans.

The deputies of Syracuſe related to Marcellus this anſwer from the Leontines, who were no longer at the diſpoſal of their city, and left him at liberty to declare war againſt them, without any infraction of the treaty made with them. He marched immediately to Leontium, and made himſelf maſter of it at the firſt attack. Hippocrates and Epicydes fled. All the deſerters found in the place, to the number of two thouſand, were put to the ſword; but as ſoon as the city was taken, all the Leontines and other ſoldiers were ſpared, and even every thing taken from them was reſtored, except what was loſt in the firſt tumult of a city carried by ſtorm.

Eight thouſand troops, ſent by the magiſtrates of Syracuſe

Syracuſe to the aid of Marcellus, met a man on their march, who gave them a falſe account of what had paſſed at the taking of Leontium; exaggerating with artful malice the cruelty of the Romans, who, he falſely affirmed, had put all the inhabitants to the ſword, as well as the troops ſent thither by the Syracuſans.

This artful falſehood, which they ſwallowed without ſuſpicion, inſpired them with compaſſion for their companions. They expreſſed their indignation by their murmurs. Hippocrates and Epicydes, who were before well known to theſe troops, appeared at the very inſtant of this trouble and tumult, and put themſelves under their protection, not having any other reſource. They were received with joy and acclamations. The report ſoon reached the rear of the army, were the commanders Dinomenes and Soſis were. When they were informed of the cauſe of the tumult, they advanced haſtily, blamed the ſoldiers for having received Hippocrates and Epicydes, the enemies of their country, and gave orders for their being ſeiſed and bound. The ſoldiers oppoſed this with great menaces; and the two generals ſent expreſſes to Syracuſe, to inform the ſenate of what had paſſed.

The army however continued its march towards Mægara, and upon the way met a courier prepared by Hippocrates, who was charged with a letter, which ſeemed to be written by the magiſtrates of Syracuſe to Marcellus. They praiſed him for the ſlaughter he had made at Leontium, and exhorted him to treat all the mercenary ſoldiers in the ſame manner, in order that Syracuſe might at length be reſtored to its liberty. The reading of this forged letter enraged the mercenaries, of whom the body of troops was almoſt entirely compoſed. They were for falling upon the few Syracuſans amongſt them, but were prevented from that violence by Hippocrates and Epicydes; not from the motives of pity or humanity, but that they might not entirely loſe their hopes of re-entering

Syracuſe. They ſent a man thither, whom he had gained by bribes, who related the ſtorming of Leontium conformable to the firſt account. Thoſe reports were favourably received by the multitude, who cried out, that the gates ſhould be ſhut againſt the Romans. Hippocrates and Epicydes arrived about the ſame time before the city, which they entered, partly by force, and partly by the intelligence they had within it. They killed the magiſtrates, and took poſſeſſion of the city. The next day the ſlaves were ſet at liberty, the priſoners made free, and Hippocrates and Epicydes elected into the higheſt offices, in a tumultuous aſſembly. Syracuſe, in this manner, after a ſhort irradiation of liberty, ſunk again into its former ſlavery.

SECT. II. *The conſul* MARCELLUS *beſieges Syracuſe. The conſiderable loſſes of men and ſhips, occaſioned by the dreadful machines of* ARCHIMEDES, *oblige* MARCELLUS *to change the ſiege into a blockade. He takes the city at length by means of his intelligence within it. Death of* ARCHIMEDES, *killed by a ſoldier who did not know him,*

A.M. 3790. Ant. J. C. 214. (*s*) AFFAIRS being in this ſtate, Marcellus thought proper to quit the country of the Leontines, and advance towards Syracuſe. When he was near it, he ſent deputies to let the inhabitants know, that he came to reſtore liberty to the Syracuſans, and not with intent to make war upon them. They were not permitted to enter the city. Hippocrates and Epicydes went out to meet them; and having heard their propoſals, replied haughtily, that if the Romans intended to beſiege their city, they ſhould ſoon be made ſenſible of the difference between attacking Syracuſe and attacking Leontium. Marcellus therefore determined to beſiege the place by

(*s*) Liv. l. xxiv. n. 33, 34. Plut. in Marcel. p. 305—307. Polyb l. viii. p. 515—318.

by ſea and land*; by land on the ſide of Hexapyla; and by ſea, on that of the quarter Achradina, the walls of which were waſhed by the waves.

He gave Appius the command of the land-forces, and reſerved that of the fleet to himſelf. It conſiſted of ſixty gallies of five benches of oars, which were full of ſoldiers armed with bows, ſlings, and darts, to ſcour the walls. There were a great number of veſſels, laden with all ſorts of machines, uſed in attacking places.

The Romans carrying on their attacks at two different places, Syracuſe was in great conſternation, and apprehended, that nothing could oppoſe ſo terrible a power, and ſuch mighty efforts. And it had indeed been impoſſible to have reſiſted them, without the aſſiſtance of a ſingle man, whoſe wonderful induſtry was every thing to the Syracuſans: this was Archimedes. He had taken care to ſupply the walls with all things neceſſary to a good defence. As ſoon as his machines began to play on the land-ſide, they diſcharged upon the infantry all ſorts of darts, and ſtones of enormous weight, which flew with ſo much noiſe, force, and rapidity, that nothing could oppoſe their ſhock. They beat down and daſhed to pieces all before them, and occaſioned a terrible diſorder in the ranks of the beſiegers.

Marcellus ſucceeded no better on the ſide of the ſea. Archimedes had diſpoſed his machines in ſuch a manner, as to throw darts to any diſtance. Though the enemy lay far from the city, he reached them with his larger and more forcible baliſtæ and catapultæ. When they overſhot their mark, he had ſmaller, proportioned to the diſtance; which put the Romans into ſuch confuſion, as made them incapable of attempting any thing.

This was not the greateſt danger. Archimedes had placed lofty and ſtrong machines behind the walls, which ſuddenly letting fall vaſt beams, with an immenſe weight at the end of them, upon the ſhips, ſunk them



* *The deſcription of Syracuſe may be ſeen in Vol. III. p. 197.*

to the bottom. Beſides this, he cauſed an iron grapple to be let out by a chain; the perſon who guided the machine, having catched hold of the head of a ſhip with this hook, by the means of a weight let down within the walls, it was lifted up, and ſet upon its ſtern, and held ſo for ſome time; then by letting go the chain, either by a wheel or a pulley, it was let fall again with its whole weight either on its head or ſide, and often entirely ſunk. At other times the machines dragging the ſhip towards the ſhore by cordage and hooks, after having made it whirl about a great while, daſhed it to pieces againſt the points of the rocks, which projected under the walls, and thereby deſtroyed all within it. Gallies, frequently ſeiſed and ſuſpended in the air, were whirled about with rapidity, exhibiting a dreadful ſight to the ſpectators, after which they were let fall into the ſea, and ſunk to the bottom, with all who were in them.

Marcellus had prepared, at great expence, machines called *ſambucæ*, from their reſemblance to a muſical inſtrument of that name. He appointed eight gallies of five benches for that uſe, from which the oars were removed, from half on the right, and from the other half on the left ſide. Theſe were joined together, two and two, on the ſides without oars. This machine conſiſted of a ladder of the breadth of four feet, which when erect was of equal height with the walls. It was laid at length upon the ſides of two gallies joined together, and extended conſiderably beyond their beaks; upon the maſts of theſe veſſels were affixed cords and pullies. When it was to work, the cords were made faſt to the extremity of the machine, and men upon the poop drew it up by the help of the pullies; others at the head aſſiſted in raiſing it with levers. The gallies afterwards being thruſt forward to the foot of the walls, the machines were applied to them. The bridge of the *ſambuca* was then let down (no doubt after the manner

manner of a drawbridge) upon which the beſiegers paſſed to the walls of the place beſieged.

This machine had not the expected effect. Whilſt it was at a conſiderable diſtance from the walls, Archimedes diſcharged a vaſt ſtone upon it that weighed ten * quintals, then a ſecond, and immediately after a third; all which ſtriking againſt it with dreadful force and noiſe, beat down and broke its ſupports, and gave the gallies upon which it ſtood ſuch a ſhock, that they parted from each other.

Marcellus, almoſt diſcouraged, and at a loſs what to do, retired as faſt as poſſible with his gallies, and ſent orders to his land-forces to do the ſame. He called alſo a council of war, in which it was reſolved the next day, before ſun-riſe, to endeavour to approach the walls. They were in hopes, by this means, to ſhelter themſelves from the machines, which, for want of a diſtance proportioned to their force, would be rendered ineffectual.

But Archimedes had provided againſt all contingencies. He had prepared machines long before, as we have already obſerved, that carried to all diſtances a proportionate quantity of darts, and ends of beams, which being very ſhort, required leſs time for preparing them, and in conſequence were more frequently diſcharged. He had beſides made ſmall chaſms or loop-hools in the walls at little diſtances, where he had placed † ſcorpions, which not carrying far, wounded thoſe who approached, without being perceived but by that effect.

When the Romans, according to their deſign, had gained the foot of the walls, and thought themſelves very well covered, they found themſelves expoſed either to an infinity of darts, or overwhelmed with ſtones, which fell directly upon their heads; there



* *The quintal, which the Greeks called* τάλαντον, *was of ſeveral kinds. The leaſt weighed an hundred and twenty-five pounds; the largeſt more than twelve hundred.*

† *The ſcorpions were machines in the nature of croſs-bows, which the ancients uſed in diſcharging darts and ſtones.*

being no part of the wall which did not continually pour that mortal hail upon them. This obliged them to retire. But they were no ſooner removed, than a new diſcharge of darts overtook them in their retreat; ſo that they loſt great numbers of men, and almoſt all their gallies were diſabled or beat to pieces, without being able to revenge their loſs in the leaſt upon their enemies. For Archimedes had planted moſt of his machines in ſecurity behind the walls; and the Romans, ſays Plutarch, repulſed by an infinity of wounds, without ſeeing the place or hand from which they came, ſeemed to fight in reality with the gods.

Marcellus, though at a loſs what to do, and not knowing how to oppoſe the machines of Archimedes, could not, however, forbear pleaſantries upon them. "Shall we perſiſt," ſaid he to his workmen and engineers, "in making war with this Briareus of a geo-"metrician, who treats my gallies and ſambucas ſo "rudely? He infinitely exceeds the fabled giants "with their hundred hands, in his perpetual and "ſurpriſing diſcharges upon us." Marcellus had reaſon for referring to Archimedes only. For the Syracuſans were really no more than members of the engines and machines of that great geometrician, who was himſelf the ſoul of all their powers and operations. All other arms were unemployed, for the city at that time made uſe of none, either defenſive or offenſive, but thoſe of Archimedes.

Marcellus at length perceiving the Romans ſo much intimidated, that if they ſaw upon the walls only a ſmall cord, or the leaſt piece of wood, they would immediately fly, crying out, that Archimedes was going to diſcharge ſome dreadful machine upon them; he renounced his hopes of being able to make a breach in the place, gave over his attacks, and turned the ſiege into a blockade. The Romans conceived, they had no other reſource than to reduce the great number of people in the city by famine, in cutting off all proviſions that might be brought to them

them either by ſea or land. During the eight months in which they beſieged the city, there were no kind of ſtratagems which they did not invent, nor any actions of valour left untried, almoſt to the aſſault, which they never dared to attempt more. So much force, upon ſome occaſions, have a ſingle man and a ſingle ſcience, when rightly applied. Deprive Syracuſe of only one old man, the great ſtrength of the Roman arms muſt inevitably take the city; his ſole preſence arreſts and diſconcerts all their deſigns.

We here ſee, which I cannot repeat too often, how much intereſt princes have in protecting arts, favouring the learned, encouraging academies of ſcience by honourable diſtinctions and actual rewards, which never ruin or impoveriſh a ſtate. I ſay nothing in this place of the birth and nobility of Archimedes; he was not indebted to them for the happineſs of his genius, and profound knowledge: I conſider him only as a learned man, and an excellent geometrician. What a loſs had Syracuſe ſuſtained, if to have ſaved a ſmall expence and penſion, ſuch a man had been abandoned to inaction and obſcurity! Hiero was far from ſuch a conduct. He knew all the value of our geometrician; and it is no vulgar merit in a prince to underſtand that of other men. He placed it in honour; he made it uſeful; and did not ſtay, till occaſion or neceſſity obliged him to do ſo; which would have been too late. By a wiſe foreſight, the true character of a great prince and a great miniſter, in the very * arms of peace he provided all that was neceſſary for ſupporting a ſiege, and making war with ſucceſs; though at that time there was no appearance of any thing to be apprehended from the Romans, with whom Syracuſe was allied in the ſtricteſt manner. Hence were ſeen to ariſe in an inſtant, as out of the earth, an incredible number of machines of every kind and ſize, the very ſight of which were ſufficient to ſtrike armies with terror and confuſion.

There

* In pace, ut ſapiens, aptarit idonea bello. *Horat.*
*And wiſe in peace, prepared the arms of war.*

There is, amongſt theſe machines, of which we can ſcarce conceive the effects, what might tempt us to call their reality in queſtion, if it were allowable to doubt the evidence of writers, ſuch, for inſtance, as Polybius, an almoſt contemporary author, who treated facts entirely recent, and ſuch as were well known to all the world. But how can we refuſe our conſent to the united authority of Greek and Roman hiſtorians, in regard to circumſtances, of which whole armies were witneſſes, in experiencing the effects, and which had ſo great an influence in the events of the war? What paſſed in this ſiege of Syracuſe, ſhows how high the ancients had carried their genius and art in beſieging and ſupporting ſieges. Our artillery, which ſo perfectly imitates thunder, has not more effect than the engines of Archimedes, if they have ſo much.

A burning-glaſs is ſpoken of, by the means of which Archimedes is ſaid to have burnt part of the Roman fleet. That muſt have been an extraordinary invention; but as no ancient author mentions it, it is no doubt a modern tradition without any foundation. Burning-glaſſes were known to antiquity, but not of that kind, which indeed ſeem impracticable.

A. M. 3791. Ant. J. C. 213. (*t*) After Marcellus had reſolved to confine himſelf to the blockade of Syracuſe, he left Appius before the place with two thirds of the army, advanced with the other into the iſland, and brought over ſome cities to the Roman intereſt.

At the ſame time Himilcon, general of the Carthaginians arrived in Sicily with a great army, in hopes of reconquering it, and expelling the Romans.

Hippocrates left Syracuſe with ten thouſand foot and five hundred horſe to join him, and carry on the war in concert againſt Marcellus. Epicydes remained in the city, to command there during the blockade.

The fleets of the two ſtates appeared at the ſame time on the coaſt of Sicily; but that of the Carthaginians,

(*t*) Liv. l. xxiv. n, 35, 36.

nians, ſeeing itſelf weaker than the other, was afraid to venture a battle, and ſoon ſailed back for Carthage.

Marcellus had continued eight months before Syracuſe with Appius, according to Polybius, when the year of his conſulſhip expired. Livy places the expedition of Marcellus in Sicily, and his victory over Hippocrates, in this year, which muſt have been the ſecond year of the ſiege. And indeed Livy has given us no account of this ſecond year, becauſe he had aſcribed to the firſt what paſſed in the ſecond. For it is highly improbable, that nothing memorable happened in it. This is the conjecture of Mr. Crevier, profeſſor of rhetorick in the college of Beauvais, who publiſhed a new edition of Livy, with remarks, and with which I am convinced the publick were well pleaſed. The firſt volume of the ſaid work contains a long preface, which is well worth reading.

Marcellus therefore employed a great part of the ſecond year of the ſiege in ſeveral expeditions into Sicily. In his return from Agrigentum, upon which he had made an effectual attempt, he came up with the army of Hippocrates, which he defeated, and killed above eight thouſand men. This advantage kept thoſe in their duty, who had entertained thoughts of going over to the Carthaginians. After the gaining of this victory, he returned againſt Syracuſe, and having diſmiſſed Appius for Rome, who went thither to demand the conſulſhip, he put Criſpinus into his place.

*(u)* In the beginning of the third campaign, Marcellus, almoſt abſolutely deſpairing of being able to take Syracuſe, either by force, becauſe Archimedes continually oppoſed him with invincible obſtacles, or famine, as the Carthaginian fleet, which was returned more numerous than before, eaſily threw in convoys, deliberated whether he ſhould continue before Syracuſe to puſh the ſiege, or turn his endeavours againſt Agrigentum. But before he came to a final determination, A. M. 3792. Ant. J. C. 212.

(u) Liv. l. xxv. n. 23. 31. Plut. in Marcel. p. 308, 309.

mination, he thought it proper to try whether he could not not make himſelf maſter of Syracuſe by ſome ſecret intelligence. There were many Syracuſans in his camp, who had taken refuge there in the beginning of the troubles. A ſlave of one of theſe ſecretly carried on an intrigue, in which fourſcore of the principal perſons of the city engaged, who came in companies to conſult with him in his camp, concealed in barks under the nets of fiſhermen. The conſpiracy was on the point of taking effect, when a perſon named Attalus, in reſentment for not having been admitted into it, diſcovered the whole to Epicydes, who put all the conſpirators to death.

This enterpriſe having miſcarried in this manner, Marcellus found himſelf in new difficulties. Nothing employed his thoughts but the grief and ſhame of raiſing a ſiege, after having conſumed ſo much time, and ſuſtained the loſs of ſo many men and ſhips in it. An accident ſupplied him with a reſource, and gave new life to his hopes. Some Roman veſſels had taken one Damippus, whom Epicydes had ſent to negociate with Philip king of Macedon. The Syracuſans expreſſed a great deſire to ranſom this man, and Marcellus was not averſe to it. A place near the port Trogilus was agreed on for the conferences concerning the ranſom of the priſoner. As the deputies went thither ſeveral times, it came into a Roman ſoldier's thought to conſider the wall with attention. After having counted the ſtones, and examined with his eye the meaſure of each of them, upon a calculation of the height of the wall, he found it to be much lower than it was believed, and concluded, that with ladders of a moderate ſize it might be eaſily ſcaled. Without loſs of time he related the whole to Marcellus. The general is not always the only wiſe man in an army; a private ſoldier may ſometimes furniſh him with important hints. Marcellus did not neglect this advice, and aſſured himſelf of its reality with his own eyes. Having cauſed ladders to be prepared, he took the opportunity of a feſtival,

feſtival, that the Syracuſans celebrated for three days in honour of Diana, during which the inhabitants gave themſelves up entirely to rejoicing and good cheer. At the time of night when he conceived that the Syracuſans, after their debauch, began to grow drowſy and fall aſleep, he made a thouſand choſen troops, in profound ſilence, advance with their ladders to the wall. When the firſt got to the top without noiſe or tumult, the others followed, encouraged by the boldneſs and ſucceſs of their leaders. Theſe thouſand ſoldiers, taking the advantage of the enemy's ſtillneſs, who were either drunk or aſleep, ſoon ſcaled the wall. Having thrown down the gate of Hexapylum, they took the quarter of the city called Epipolis.

It was then no longer time to deceive, but terrify, the enemy. The Syracuſans, awakened by the noiſe, began to rouſe, and to prepare for action. Marcellus made all his trumpets ſound together, which ſo frightened and alarmed them, that all the inhabitants fled, believing every quarter of the city in the poſſeſſion of the enemy. The ſtrongeſt and beſt part, however, called Achradina, was not yet taken, becauſe ſeparated by its walls from the reſt of the city.

Marcellus at day-break entered * Villanova, or the new city, by the quarter called Tycha. Epicydes, having immediately drawn up ſome troops, which he had in the iſland adjoining to Achradina, marched againſt Marcellus: but finding him ſtronger and better attended than he expected, after a ſlight ſkirmiſh, he ſhut himſelf up in the quarter Achradina.

All the captains and officers with Marcellus congratulated him upon this extraordinary ſucceſs. For himſelf, when he had conſidered from an eminence the loftineſs, beauty, and extent of that city, he is ſaid to have ſhed tears, and to have deplored the unhappy condition it was upon the point of experiencing. He called to mind the two powerful Athenian

* *The new city, or Neapolis, was called Epipolis, and in the latter times had been taken into the city and ſurrounded with walls.*

nian fleets which had been ſunk before this city, and the two numerous armies cut in pieces, with the illuſtrious generals who commanded them: the many wars ſuſtained with ſo much valour againſt the Carthaginians: the many famous tyrants and potent kings, Hiero particularly, whoſe memory was ſtill recent, who had ſignalized himſelf by ſo many royal virtues, and ſtill more, by the important ſervices he had rendered the Roman people, whoſe intereſts had always been as dear to him as his own. Moved by that reflexion, he believed it incumbent upon him, before he attacked Achradina, to ſend to the beſieged, to exhort them to ſurrender voluntarily, and prevent the ruin of their city. His remonſtrances and exhortations had no effect.

To prevent interruption by his rear, he then attacked a fort called Eurylaus, which lay at the bottom of the new town, and commanded the whole country on the land ſide. After having carried it, he turned all his efforts againſt Achradina.

During theſe tranſactions, Hippocrates and Himilcon arrived. The firſt with the Sicilians having placed and fortified his camp near the great gate, and giving the ſignal to thoſe who were in poſſeſſion of Achradina, attacked the old camp of the Romans, in which Criſpinus commanded: Epicydes, at the ſame time made a ſally upon the poſts of Marcellus. Neither of theſe enterpriſes was ſucceſsful. Hippocrates was vigorouſly repulſed by Criſpinus, who purſued him as far as his entrenchments, and Marcellus obliged Epicydes to ſhut himſelf up in Achradina. As it was then autumn, there happened a plague, which killed great numbers in the city, and ſtill more in the Roman and Carthaginian camps. The diſtemper was not exceſſive at firſt, and proceeded only from the bad air and ſeaſon: But afterwards the communication with the infected, and even the care taken of them, diſperſed the contagion; from whence it happened, that ſome, neglected and abſolutely abandoned, died of the violence of the malady,

malady, and others received help, which became fatal to thoſe who brought it. Death, and the ſight of ſuch as were buried, continually preſented a mournful object to the eyes of the living. Nothing were heard night and day but groans and lamentations. At length, the being accuſtomed to the evil had hardened their hearts to ſuch a degree, and ſo far extinguiſhed all ſenſe of compaſſion in them, that they not only ceaſed to grieve for the dead, but left them without interment. Nothing was to be ſeen every where but dead bodies, expoſed to the view of thoſe who expected the ſame fate. The Carthaginians ſuffered much more from it than the others. As they had no place to retire to, they almoſt all periſhed with their generals Hippocrates and Himilcon. Marcellus, from the breaking out of the diſeaſe, had brought his ſoldiers into the city, where the roofs and ſhade was of great relief to them; he loſt, however, no inconſiderable number of men.

Bomilcar, notwithſtanding, who commanded the Carthaginian fleet, and had made a ſecond voyage to Carthage to bring a new ſupply, returned with an hundred and thirty ſhips, and ſeven hundred tranſports. He was prevented by contrary winds from doubling the cape of Pacymus. Epicydes, who was afraid that if thoſe winds continued, this fleet might be diſcouraged and return to Africa, left Achradina to the care of the generals of the mercenary troops, and went to Bomilcar, whom he perſuaded to try the event of a naval battle. Marcellus, ſeeing the troops of the Sicilians encreaſed every day, and that if he ſtayed, and ſuffered himſelf to be ſhut up in Syracuſe, he ſhould be very much preſſed at the ſame time both by ſea and land, reſolved, though not ſo ſtrong in ſhips, to oppoſe the paſſage of the Carthaginian fleet. As ſoon as the high winds abated, Bomilcar ſtood to ſea in order to double the cape: But when he ſaw the Roman ſhips advance towards him in good order, on a ſudden, for what reaſon is not ſaid, he took to flight, ſent orders to the tranſ-

ports

ports to regain Africa, and retired to Tarentum. Epicydes, who had been diſappointed in ſuch great hopes, and was apprehenſive of returning into a city already half taken, made ſail for Agrigentum, rather with deſign to wait the event of the ſiege in that place, than to make any new attempt from thence.

When it was known in the camp of the Sicilians, that Epicydes had quitted Syracuſe, and the Carthaginians Sicily, they ſent deputies to Marcellus, after having ſounded the diſpoſitions of the beſieged, to treat upon the conditions Syracuſe ſhould ſurrender. It was agreed with unanimity enough on both ſides, that what had appertained to the kings ſhould appertain to the Romans; that the Sicilians ſhould retain all the reſt with their laws and liberty. After theſe preliminaries, they demanded a conference with thoſe Epicydes had charged with the government in his abſence. They told them, they had been ſent by the army to Marcellus and the inhabitants of Syracuſe, in order that all the Sicilians, as well within as without the city, might have the ſame fate, and that no ſeparate convention might be made. Having been permitted to enter the city, and to confer with their friends and relations, after having informed them of what they had already agreed with Marcellus, and giving them aſſurances, that their lives would be ſafe, they perſuaded them to begin, by removing the three governors Epicydes had left in his place, which was immediately put in execution.

After which, having aſſembled the people, they repreſented, "That for whatever miſeries they had "ſuffered till then, or ſhould ſuffer from thenceforth, "they ought not to accuſe fortune, as it depended "upon themſelves alone to put an end to them: "That if the Romans had undertaken the ſiege of "Syracuſe, it was out of affection not enmity to the "Syracuſans: that it was not till after they had "been appriſed of the oppreſſions they ſuffered from "Hippocrates and Epicydes, thoſe ambitious agents "of Hannibal, and afterwards of Hieronymus, that "they

" they had taken arms and begun the ſiege of the " city, not to ruin it, but to deſtroy its tyrants: " That as Hippocrates was dead, Epicydes no " longer in Syracuſe, his lieutenants ſlain, and the " Carthaginians diſpoſſeſſed of Sicily, both by ſea " and land, what reaſon could the Romans now have " for not inclining as much to preſerve Syracuſe, as " if Hiero, the ſole example of faith to them, were " ſtill alive? That neither the city nor the inhabi- " tants had any thing to fear but from themſelves, " if they let ſlip the occaſion of renewing their amity " with the Romans: that they never had ſo favour- " able an opportunity as the preſent, when they were " juſt delivered from the violent government of their " tyrants; and that the firſt uſe they ought to make of " their liberty, was to return to their duty."

This diſcourſe was perfectly well received by every body. It was however judged proper to create new magiſtrates before the nomination of deputies; the latter of whom were choſen out of the former. The deputy who ſpoke in their name, and who was inſtructed ſolely to uſe his utmoſt endeavours that Syracuſe might not be deſtroyed, addreſſed himſelf to Marcellus to this effect: " It was not the people " of Syracuſe, who firſt broke the alliance, and de- " clared war againſt you, but Hieronymus, leſs cri- " minal ſtill to Rome than to his country: and " afterwards, when the peace was reſtored by his " death, it was not any Syracuſan that infringed it, " but the tyrant's inſtruments, Hippocrates and Epi- " cydes. They were the enemies who have made " war againſt you, after having made us ſlaves, either " by violence, or fraud and perfidy; and it cannot " be ſaid that we have had any times of liberty that " have not alſo been times of peace with you. At " preſent, as ſoon as we are become maſters of our- " ſelves by the death of thoſe who held Sicily in " ſubjection, we come the very inſtant to deliver up " to you our arms, our perſons, our walls, and our " city, determined not to refuſe any conditions you

" ſhall think fit to impoſe. For the reſt," continued he, addreſſing himſelf always to Marcellus, " your " intereſt is as much concerned as ours. The gods " have granted you the glory of having taken the " fineſt and moſt illuſtrious city poſſeſſed by the " Greeks. All we have ever atchieved of memorable, " either by ſea or land, augments and adorns your " triumph. Fame is not a ſufficiently faithful " chronicle to make known the greatneſs and " ſtrength of the city you have taken; poſterity can " only judge of them by its own eyes. It is neceſ- " ſary that we ſhould ſhow to all travellers, from " whatever part of the univerſe they come, ſome- " times the trophies we have obtained from the " Athenians and Carthaginians, and ſometimes thoſe " you have acquired from us; and that Syracuſe, " thus placed for ever under the protection of Mar- " cellus, may be a laſting, and eternal monument of " the valour and clemency of him, who took and " preſerved it. It is unjuſt that the remembrance " of Hieronymus ſhould have more weight with you " than that of Hiero. The latter was much longer " your friend than the former your enemy. Permit " me to ſay you have experienced the amity of Hiero: " But the ſenſeleſs enterpriſes of Hieronymus have " fallen ſolely upon his own head."

The difficulty was not to obtain what they demanded from Marcellus, but to preſerve tranquillity and union amongſt thoſe in the city. The deſerters, convinced that they ſhould be delivered up to the Romans, inſpired the foreign ſoldiers with the ſame fear. Both the one and the other having therefore taken arms, whilſt the deputies were ſtill in the camp of Marcellus, they began, by cutting the throats of the magiſtrates newly elected; and diſperſing themſelves on all ſides, they put all to the ſword they met, and plundered whatever fell in their way. That they might not be without leaders, they appointed ſix officers, three to command in Achradina, and three in the iſle. The tumult being at length appeaſed, the

the foreign troops were informed from all hands, it was concluded with the Romans, that their cauſe ſhould be entirely diſtinct from that of the deſerters. At the ſame inſtant, the deputies ſent to Marcellus arrived, who fully undeceived them.

Amongſt thoſe who commanded in Syracuſe, there was a Spaniard named Mericus: him means was found to corrupt. He gave up the gate near the fountain Arethuſa to ſoldiers, ſent by Marcellus in the night to take poſſeſſion of it. At day-break the next morning, Marcellus made a falſe attack at Achradina, to draw all the forces of the citadel, and the iſle adjoining to it, to that ſide, and to facilitate the throwing ſome troops into the iſle, which would be unguarded, by ſome veſſels he had prepared. Every thing ſucceeded according to his plan. The ſoldiers, whom thoſe veſſels had landed in the iſle, finding almoſt all the poſts abandoned, and the gates by which the garriſon of the citadel had marched out againſt Marcellus ſtill open, they took poſſeſſion of them after a ſlight encounter. Marcellus having received advice that he was maſter of the iſle, and of part of Achradina, and that Mericus, with the body under his command, had joined his troops, ordered a retreat to be ſounded, that the treaſures of the kings might not be plundered. They did not riſe ſo high in their amount as was imagined.

The deſerters having eſcaped, a paſſage being expreſsly left open for them, the Syracuſans opened all their gates to Marcellus, and ſent deputies to him with inſtructions to demand nothing further from him, than the preſervation of the lives of themſelves and their children. Marcellus having aſſembled his council, and ſome Syracuſans who were in his camp, gave his anſwer to the deputies in their preſence: "That Hiero, for fifty years, had not done the "Roman people more good, than thoſe who had "been maſters of Syracuſe ſome years paſt, had in-"tended to do them harm; but that their ill-"will had fallen upon their own heads, and they had

" puniſhed themſelves for their violation of treaties " in a more ſevere manner, than the Romans could " have deſired: that he had beſieged Syracuſe " during three years, not that the Roman people might " reduce it into ſlavery, but to prevent the chiefs of " the revolters from continuing it under oppreſſion: " that he had undergone many fatigues and dangers " in ſo long a ſiege; but that he thought he had " made himſelf ample amends by the glory of hav- " ing taken that city, and the ſatisfaction of having " ſaved it from the entire ruin it ſeemed to deſerve." After having placed a guard upon the treaſury, and ſafe-guards in the houſes of the Syracuſans, who had withdrawn into his camp, he abandoned the city to be plundered by the troops. It is reported, that the riches which were pillaged in Syracuſe at this time, exceeded all that could have been expected at the taking of Carthage itſelf.

An unhappy accident interrupted the joy of Marcellus, and gave him a very ſenſible affliction. Archimedes, at a time when all things were in this confuſion at Syracuſe, ſhut up in his cloſet like a man of another world, who had no regard for what paſſed in this, was intent upon the ſtudy of ſome geometrical figure, and not only his eyes, but the whole faculties of his ſoul, were ſo engaged in this contemplation, that he had neither heard the tumult of the Romans, univerſally buſy in plundering, nor the report of the city's being taken. A ſoldier on a ſudden comes in upon him, and bids him follow him to Marcellus. Archimedes deſired him to ſtay a moment, till he had ſolved his problem, and finiſhed the demonſtration of it. The ſoldier, who regarded neither his problem nor demonſtration, enraged at this delay, drew his ſword and killed him. Marcellus was exceedingly afflicted when he heard the news of his death. Not being able to reſtore him to life, of which he would have been very glad, he applied himſelf to honour his memory to the utmoſt of his power. He made a diligent ſearch after all his relations,

tions, treated them with great diſtinction, and granted them peculiar privileges. As for Archimedes, he cauſed his funeral to be celebrated in the moſt ſolemn manner, and erected him a monument amongſt the great perſons who had diſtinguiſhed themſelves moſt at Syracuſe.

## ARTICLE III.

### SECT. I. *Tomb of* ARCHIMEDES *diſcovered by* CICERO.

ARCHIMEDES, by his will, had deſired his relations and friends to put no other epitaph on his tomb, after his death, but a cylinder circumſcribed by a ſphere; that is to ſay, a globe or ſpherical figure; and to ſet down at the bottom the relation thoſe two ſolids, the containing and the contained, have to each other. He might have filled up the baſes of the columns of his tomb with relievoes, whereon the whole hiſtory of the ſiege of Syracuſe might have been carved, and himſelf appeared like another Jupiter thundering upon the Romans. But he ſet an infinitely higher value upon a diſcovery, a geometrical demonſtration, than upon all the ſo-much celebrated machines of his invention.

Hence he choſe rather to do himſelf honour with poſterity, by the diſcovery he had made of the relation of a ſphere to a cylinder of the ſame baſe and height; which is as two to three.

The Syracuſans, who had been in former times ſo fond of the ſciences, did not long retain the eſteem and gratitude they owed a man, who had done ſo much honour to their city. Leſs than an hundred and forty years after, Archimedes was ſo perfectly forgot by his citizens, notwithſtanding the great ſervices he had done them, that they denied his having been buried at Syracuſe. It is from Cicero we have this circumſtance.

(*a*) At the time he was quæſtor in Sicily, his curioſity induced him to make a ſearch after the tomb of Archimedes; a curioſity that became a man of Cicero's genius, and which merits the imitation of all who travel. The Syracuſans aſſured him, that his ſearch would be to no purpoſe, and that there was no ſuch monument amongſt them. Cicero pitied their ignorance, which only ſerved to increaſe his deſire of making that diſcovery. At length, after ſeveral fruitleſs attempts, he perceived, without the gate of the city facing Agrigentum, amongſt a great number of tombs in that place, a pillar almoſt intirely covered with thorns and brambles, through which he could diſcern the figure of a ſphere and cylinder. Thoſe, who have any taſte for antiquities, may eaſily conceive the joy of Cicero upon this occaſion. He cried out, * *that he found what he had looked for.* The place was immediately ordered to be cleared, when they ſaw the inſcription ſtill legible, though part of the lines were obliterated by time. † So that, ſays Cicero, in concluding his account, the greateſt city of Greece, and moſt flouriſhing of old in the ſtudies of ſcience, would not have known the treaſure it poſſeſſed, if a man, born in a country it conſidered almoſt as barbarous, had not diſcovered for it the tomb of its citizen, ſo highly diſtinguiſhed by force and penetration of mind.

We are obliged to Cicero for having left us this curious and elegant account: but we cannot eaſily pardon him the contemptuous manner in which he ſpeaks at firſt of Archimedes. It is in the beginning, where intending to compare the unhappy life of Dionyſius the tyrant with the felicity of one paſſed in ſober virtue, and abounding with wiſdom, he ſays ‡: "I

(*a*) Cic. Tuſc. Quæſt. l. v. n. 64, 66.

* Εὕρηκα in verb. Archim.

† Ita nobiliſſima Græciæ civitas, quondam vero etiam doctiſſima, ſui civis unius acutiſſimi monumentum ignoraſſet, niſi ab homine Arpinete didiciſſet.

‡ Non ergo jam cum hujus vitâ, quâ tetrius, miſerius, deteſtabilius excogitare nihil poſſum, Platonis aut Architæ vitam comparabo, doctorum hominum & planè ſapientum. Ex eadem urbe

HUMI-

" I will not compare the lives of a Plato or an " Architas, perſons of conſummate learning and " wiſdom, with that of Dionyſius, the moſt horrid, " the moſt miſerable, and the moſt deteſtable that " can be imagined. I ſhould have recourſe to a " man of his own city, A LITTLE OBSCURE PERSON, " who lived many years after him. I ſhould pro- " duce him from his ‖ duſt, and bring him upon the " ſtage with his rule and compaſſes in his hand." Not to mention the birth of Archimedes, whoſe greatneſs was of a different claſs, the greateſt geometrician of antiquity, whoſe ſublime diſcoveries have in all ages been the admiration of the learned, ſhould Cicero have treated this man as little and obſcure as a common artificer, employed in making machines? unleſs it be, perhaps, becauſe the Romans, with whom a taſte for geometry and ſuch ſpeculative ſciences never gained much ground, eſteemed nothing great but what related to government and policy.

Orabunt cauſas melius, cœlique meatus
Diſcribent radio, & ſurgentia ſidera dicent:
Tu regere imperio populos, Romane, memento.
VIRGIL. Æn. 6.

*Let others better mould the running maſs*
*Of metals, and inform the breathing braſs*
*And ſoften into fleſh a marble face;*
*Plead better at the bar, deſcribe the ſkies,*
*And when the ſtars deſcend and when they riſe;*
*But, Rome, 'tis thine alone with aweful ſway*
*To rule mankind, and make the world obey;*
*Diſpoſing peace and war, thy own majeſtick way,*
DRYDEN.

(*b*) This is the Abbé Fraguier's reflexion in the ſhort diſſertation he has left us upon this paſſage of Cicero.

(*b*) *Memoirs of the Academy of Inſcriptions, Vol. II.*

HUMILEM HOMUNCIONEM à pulvere & radio excitabo, qui multis annis poſt fuit, Archimedem.

‖ *He means the duſt uſed by geometricians.*

## Sect. II. *Summary of the hiſtory of Syracuſe.*

THE iſland of Sicily, with the greateſt part of Italy, extending between the two ſeas, compoſed what was called Græcia Major, in oppoſition to Greece properly ſo called, which had peopled all thoſe countries by its colonies.

A. M. 3242. Syracuſe was the moſt conſiderable city of Sicily, and one of the moſt powerful of all Greece. It was founded by Achitas the Corinthian, in the third year of the ſeventeenth Olympiad.

The two firſt ages of its hiſtory are very obſcure, and therefore we are ſilent upon them. It does not begin to be known till after the reign of Gelon, and furniſhes in the ſequel many great events, for the ſpace of more than two hundred years. During all that time it exhibits a perpetual alternative of ſlavery under the tyrants, and liberty under a popular government; till Syracuſe is at length ſubjected to the Romans, and makes part of their empire.

I have treated all theſe events, except the laſt, in the order of time. But as they are cut into different ſections, and diſperſed into different books, we thought proper to unite them here in one point of view, that their ſeries and connexion might be the more evident, from their being ſhown together and in general, and the places pointed out, where they are treated with due extent.

A. M. 3520. Gelon. The Carthaginians, in concert with Xerxes, having attacked the Greeks who inhabited Sicily, whilſt that prince was employed in making an irruption into Greece; Gelon, who made himſelf maſter of Syracuſe, obtained a celebrated victory over the Carthaginians, the very day of the battle of Thermopylæ. Amilcar, their general, was killed in this battle. Hiſtorians ſpeak differently of his death, which had occaſioned my falling into a contradiction. For on one ſide I ſuppoſe, with * Diodorus Siculus, that he was killed by the Sicilians in the battle; and

* *In the hiſtory of the Carthaginians.*

and on the other I ſay, after Herodotus, that to avoid the ſhame of ſurviving his defeat, he threw himſelf into the pile, in which he had ſacrificed human victims.

Gelon, upon returning from his victory, repaired to the aſſembly without arms or guards, to give the people an account of his conduct. He was choſen king unanimouſly. He reigned five or ſix years ſolely employed in the truely royal care of making his people happy. Vol. I. p. 144, &c. Vol. III. p. 73, &c. A. M. 3525.

HIERO I. Hiero, the eldeſt of Gelon's brothers, ſucceeded him. The beginning of his reign was worthy of great praiſe. Simonides and Pindar celebrated him in emulation of each other. The latter part of it did not anſwer the former. He reigned eleven years. Vol. III. p. 79, &c. A. M. 3532.

THRASIBULUS. Thraſibulus his brother ſucceeded him. He rendered himſelf odious to all his ſubjects, by his vices and cruelty. They expelled him the throne and city, after a reign of one year. Vol. III. p. 85. A. M. 3543.

*Times of liberty.*

After this expulſion, Syracuſe and all Sicily enjoyed their liberty for the ſpace of almoſt ſixty years. A. M. 3524.

An annual feſtival was inſtituted to celebrate the day upon which their liberty was re-eſtabliſhed.

*Syracuſe attacked by the Athenians.*

During this interval, the Athenians, animated by the warm exhortations of Alcibiades, turned their arms againſt Syracuſe; this was in the ſixth year of the Peloponneſian war. How fatal the event of this war was to the Athenians, may be ſeen, Vol. III. p. 183, &c. A. M. 3588.

DIONYSIUS *the elder.* The reign of this prince is famous for its length of thirty-eight years; and ſtill more for the extraordinary events with which it was attended. Vol. I. p. 148, &c. Vol. IV. p. 4, &c. A. M. 3598.

Dionyſius

A. M. 3632. Dionyſius *the younger*. Dionyſius, ſon of the elder Dionyſius, ſucceeded him. He contracts a particular intimacy with Plato, and has frequent converſations with him; who comes to his court at the requeſt of Dion, the near relation of Dionyſius. He did not long improve from the wiſe precepts of that philoſopher, and ſoon abandoned himſelf to all the vices and exceſſes which attend tyranny.

A. M. 3644. Beſieged by Dion, he eſcapes from Sicily, and retires into Italy.

A. M. 3646. Dion's excellent qualities. He is aſſaſſinated in his own houſe by Callippus.

A. M. 3647. Thirteen months after the death of Dion, Hipparinus, brother of Dionyſius the younger, expels Callippus, and eſtabliſhes himſelf in Syracuſe. During the two years of his reign, Sicily is agitated by great commotions.

A. M. 3654. Dionyſius the younger taking advantage of thoſe troubles, re-aſcends the throne ten years after having quitted it.

A. M. 3657. At laſt, reduced by Timoleon, he retires to Corinth. Vol. I. p. 156, &c. Vol. IV. p. 47.

*Times of Liberty.*

A. M. 3658. Timoleon reſtores liberty to Syracuſe. He paſſes the reſt of his life there in a glorious retirement, beloved and honoured by all the citizens and ſtrangers. Vol. IV. 97, &c.

This interval of liberty was of no long duration.

A. M. 3685. AGATHOCLES. Agathocles, in a ſhort time, makes himſelf tyrant of Syracuſe. Vol. I. p. 161, &c.

He commits unparalleled cruelties.

He forms one of the boldeſt deſigns related in hiſtory; carries the war into Africa; makes himſelf maſter of the ſtrongeſt places, and ravages the whole country.

After various events he periſhes miſerably. He reigned about twenty-eight years.

*Times*

*Times of Liberty.*

Syracuſe took new life again for ſome time, and taſted with joy the ſweets of liberty. A. M. 3713.

But ſhe ſuffered much from the Carthaginians, who diſturbed her tranquillity by continual wars.

She called in Pyrrhus to her aid. The rapid ſucceſs of his arms, at firſt, gave him great hopes, which ſoon vaniſhed. Pyrrhus, by a ſudden retreat, plunged the Syracuſans into new misfortunes. Vol. I. p. 172, &c. Vol. V. p. 328, &c.

HIERO II. They were not happy and in tranquillity till the reign of Hiero II. which was very long, and almoſt always pacifick.

HIERONYMUS. He ſcarce reigned one year. His death was followed with great troubles, and the taking of Syracuſe by Marcellus.

After that period, what paſſed in Sicily to its total reduction is little remarkable. There were ſtill ſome remains of war fomented in it by the partiſans of tyranny, and the Carthaginians who ſupported them: But thoſe wars had no conſequence, and Rome was ſoon abſolute miſtreſs of all Sicily. Half the iſland had been a Roman province from the treaty which put an end to the firſt Punick war. By that treaty Sicily was divided into two parts; the one continued in the poſſeſſion of the Romans, and the other under the government of Hiero; which laſt part, after the ſurrender of Syracuſe, fell alſo into their hands.

## SECT. III. *Reflections upon the government and character of the Syracuſans, and upon* ARCHIMEDES.

BY the taking of Syracuſe all Sicily became a province of the Roman empire: but it was not treated as the Spaniards and Carthaginians were afterwards, upon whom a certain tribute was impoſed as the reward of the victory, and puniſhment of the vanquiſhed: *Quaſi victoriæ premium, ac pœna belli.*

Sicily,

Sicily, in ſubmitting to the * Roman people, retained all her ancient rights and cuſtoms, obeyed them upon the ſame conditions ſhe had obeyed her kings. And ſhe certainly well deſerved that privilege and diſtinction. † She was the firſt of all the foreign nations that had entered into alliance and amity with the Romans; the firſt conqueſt their arms had the glory to make out of Italy; and the firſt country that had given them the grateful experience of commanding a foreign people. The greateſt part of the Sicilian cities had expreſſed an unexampled attachment, fidelity, and affection for the Romans. The iſland was afterwards a kind of paſs for their troops into Africa; and Rome would not ſo eaſily have reduced the formidable power of the Carthaginians, if Sicily had not ſerved it as a magazine, abounding with proviſions, and a ſecure retreat for their fleets. Hence after the taking and ruin of Carthage, Scipio Africanus thought himſelf obliged to adorn the cities of Sicily with a great number of excellent paintings and curious ſtatues; in order that a people, who were ſo highly ſatisfied with the ſucceſs of the Roman arms, might be ſenſible of its effects, and retain illuſtrious monuments of their victories amongſt them.

Sicily would have been happy in being governed by the Romans, if they had always given her ſuch magiſtrates as Cicero, knowing like him in the obligations of his function, and like him intent upon the due diſcharge of it. It is highly pleaſing to hear him explain

* Siciliæ civitates ſic in amicitiam recepimus, ut eodem jure, eſſent, quo fuiſſent; eadem conditione populo R. parerent quâ ſuis anteà paruiſſent. *Cic.*

† Omnium nationum exterarum princeps Sicilia ſe ad amicitiam fidemque populi R. applicuit: prima omnium, id quod ornamentum imperii eſt, provincia eſt appellata: prima docuit majores noſtros, quam præclarum eſſet exteris gentibus imperare—Itaque majoribus noſtris in Africam ex hac provinciâ gradus imperii factus eſt. Neque enim tam facilè opes Carthaginis tantæ concidiſſent, niſi illud, & rei frumentariæ ſubſidium, & receptaculum claſſibus noſtris pateret. Quarè P. Africanus, Carthagine deletâ, Siculorum urbes ſignis monumentiſque pulcherrimis exornavit; ut, quos victoria populi R. lætari arbitrabatur, apud eos monumenta victoriæ plurima collocaret. *Cic. Verr.* 3. n. 2, 3.

plain himſelf upon the ſubject; which he does in his defence of Sicily againſt Verres.

After having invoked the gods as witneſſes of the ſincerity of what he is going to expoſe, he ſays: "In all * the employments with which the Roman "people have honoured me to this day, I have ever "thought myſelf obliged, by the moſt ſacred ties of "religion, worthily to diſcharge the duties of them. "When I was made quæſtor, I looked upon that "dignity not as a gratuity conferred upon me for "my particular uſe, but as a depoſit confided to "my vigilance and fidelity. When I was afterwards "ſent to act in that office, I thought all eyes were "turned upon me, and that my perſon and admini-"ſtration were in a manner exhibited as a ſpectacle "to the view of all the world; and in this thought "I not only denied myſelf all pleaſures of an extra-"ordinary kind, but even thoſe that are authoriſed "by nature and neceſſity. I am now intended for "ædile. I call the gods to witneſs, that how "honourable ſoever this dignity ſeems to me, I "have too juſt a ſenſe of its weight, not to have "more ſollicitude and diſquiet, than joy and plea-"ſure from it; ſo much I deſire to make it ap-"pear, that it was not beſtowed on me by chance, "or the neceſſity of being filled up; but con-"fided

* O dii immortales——Ita mihi meam voluntatem ſpémque reliquæ vitæ veſtra populique R. exiſtimatio comprobet, ut ego quos adhuc mihi magiſtratus populos R. mandavit, ſic eos accepi, ut me omnium officiorum obſtringi religione arbitrarer. Ita quæſtor ſum factus, ut mihi honorem illum non tam datum quam creditum ac commiſſum putarem. Sic obtinui quæſturam in provinciâ, ut omnium oculos in me unum conjectos arbitrarer; ut me quæſturamque meam quaſi in aliquo orbis terræ theatro verſari exiſtimarem; ut omnia ſemper, quæ jucunda videntur eſſe, non modo his extraordinariis cupiditatibus, ſed etiam ipſi naturæ ac neceſſitati denegarem. Nunc ſum deſignatus ædilis—Ita mihi deos omnes propitios eſſe velim, ut tametſi mihi jucundiſſimus eſt honos populi, tamen nequaquam tantum capio voluptatis, quantum ſollicitudinis & laboris, ut hæc ipſa ædilitas, non quia neceſſe fuit alicui candidato data, ſed quia ſic oportuerit rectè collocata, & judicio populi digno in loco poſita eſſe videatur. *Cic. Verr.* 7. n. 35—37.

" fided deſervedly by the choice and diſcernment of " my country."

All the Roman governors were far from being of this character; and Sicily, above all other provinces, experienced, as * Cicero ſome lines after reproaches Verres, that they were almoſt all of them like ſo many tyrants, who believed themſelves only attended by the faſces and axes, and inveſted with the authority of the Roman empire, to exerciſe in their province an open robbery of the publick with impunity, and to break through all the barriers of juſtice and ſhame in ſuch a manner, that no man's eſtate, life, houſe, or even honour, were ſafe from their violence.

Syracuſe, from all we have ſeen of it, ought to appear like a theatre, on which many different and ſurpriſing ſcenes have been exhibited; or rather like a ſea, ſometimes calm and untroubled, but oftener violently agitated by winds and ſtorms, always ready to overwhelm it entirely. We have ſeen in no other republick, ſuch ſudden, frequent, violent, and various revolutions: ſometimes enſlaved by the moſt cruel tyrants, at others under the government of the wiſeſt kings; ſometimes abandoned to the capricious will of a populace, without either government or reſtriction; ſometimes perfectly docile and ſubmiſſive to the authority of law, and the empire of reaſon, it paſſed alternately from the moſt inſupportable ſlavery to the moſt grateful liberty, from a kind of convulſions and frantick emotions, to a wiſe, peaceable, and regular conduct. The reader will eaſily call to mind, on the one ſide, Dionyſius the father and ſon, Agathocles and Hieronymus, whoſe cruelties made them the objects of the publick hatred and deteſtation;

* Nunquam tibi venit in mentem, non tibi idcirco faſces & ſecures, & tantam imperii vim, tantamque ornamentorum omnium dignitatem datam; ut earum rerum vi & auctoritate omnia repagula juris, pudoris, & officii perfringeres; ut omnium bona prædam tuam duceres; nullius res tuta, nullius domus clauſa, nullius vita ſepta, nullius pudicitia munita, contra tuam cupiditatem & audaciam poſſet eſſe. *Cic. Verr.* n. 39.

tation; on the other, Gelon, Dion, Timoleon, the two Hieroes, ancient and modern, univerſally beloved and revered by the people.

To what are ſuch oppoſite extremes and viciſſitudes ſo contrary to be attributed? Undoubtedly, I think, the levity and inconſtancy of the Syracuſans, which was their diſtinguiſhing characteriſtick, had a great ſhare in them; but what I am convinced conduced the moſt to them, was the very form of their government, compounded of the ariſtocratick and democratick, that is to ſay, divided between the ſenate or elders, and the people. As there was no counterpoiſe in Syracuſe to ſupport a right balance between thoſe two bodies, when authority inclined either to the one ſide or the other, the government preſently changed either into a violent and cruel tyranny, or an unbridled liberty, without order or regulation. The ſudden confuſion at ſuch times of all orders of the ſtate, made the way to ſovereign power eaſy to the moſt ambitious of the citizens: to attract the affection of their country, and ſoften the yoke to their fellow-citizens, ſome exerciſed that power with lenity, wiſdom, equity, and popular behaviour; and others, by nature leſs virtuouſly inclined, carried it to the laſt exceſs of the moſt abſolute and cruel deſpotiſm, under pretext of ſupporting themſelves againſt the attempts of their citizens, who, jealous of their liberty, thought every means for the recovery of it legitimate and laudable.

There were beſides other reaſons that rendered the government of Syracuſe difficult, and thereby made way for the frequent changes it underwent. That city did not forget the ſignal victories it had obtained againſt the formidable power of Africa, and that it had carried victorious arms and terror even to the walls of Carthage; and that not once only, as afterwards againſt the Athenians, but during ſeveral ages. The high idea its fleets and numerous troops ſuggeſted of its maritime power, at the time of the irruption of the Perſians into Greece, occaſioned

its

its pretending to equal Athens in that reſpect, or at leaſt to divide the empire of the ſea with that ſtate.

Beſides which, riches, the natural effect of commerce, had rendered the Syracuſans proud, haughty, and imperious, and at the ſame time had plunged them into a ſloth and luxury, that inſpired them with a diſguſt for all fatigue and application. They generally abandoned themſelves blindly to their orators, who had acquired an abſolute aſcendant over them. In order to make them obey, it was neceſſary either to flatter or reproach them.

They had naturally a fund of equity, humanity, and good nature; and yet when influenced by the ſeditious diſcourſes of the orators, they would proceed to exceſſive violence and cruelties, which they immediately after repented.

When they were left to themſelves, their liberty, which at that time knew no bounds, ſoon degenerated into caprice, fury, violence, and I might ſay even phrenzy. On the contrary, when they were ſubjected to the yoke, they became baſe, timorous, ſubmiſſive, and creeping like ſlaves. But as this condition was violent, and directly contrary to the character and diſpoſition of the Greek nation, born and nurtured in liberty, the ſenſe of which was not wholly extinguiſhed in them, and only lulled aſleep; they waked from time to time from their lethargy, broke their chains, and made uſe of them, if I may be admitted to uſe the expreſſion, to beat down and deſtroy the unjuſt maſters who had impoſed them.

With a ſmall attention to the whole ſeries of the hiſtory of the Syracuſans, it may eaſily be perceived, (as Galba afterwards ſaid of the Romans) that * they were equally incapable of bearing either entire liberty or entire ſervitude. So that the ability and policy of thoſe who governed them, conſiſted in keeping the people

* Imperaturus es hominibus, qui nec totam ſervitutem pati poſſunt, nec totam libertatem. *Tacit. Hiſt.* l. i. c. 16.

people to a wiſe medium between theſe two extremes, by ſeeming to leave them an entire freedom in their reſolutions, and reſerving only to themſelves the care of explaining the utility, and facilitating the execution of good meaſures. And in this the magiſtrates and kings we have ſpoken of were wonderfully ſucceſsful, under whoſe government the Syracuſans always enjoyed peace and tranquillity, were obedient to their princes, and perfectly ſubmiſſive to the laws. And this induces me to conclude, that the revolutions of Syracuſe were leſs the effect of the people's levity, than the fault of thoſe that governed them, who had not the art of managing their paſſions, and engaging their affection, which is properly the ſcience of kings, and of all who command others.

# BOOK THE TWENTY-SECOND.

# THE HISTORY OF PONTUS.

## CHAP. I.

SECT. I. MITHRIDATES, *at twelve years old, aſcends the throne of Pontus. He ſeiſes Cappadocia and Bithynia, having firſt expelled their kings. The Romans re-eſtabliſh them. He cauſes all the Romans in Aſia Minor to be put to the ſword in one day. Firſt war of the Romans with* MITHRIDATES, *who had made himſelf maſter of Aſia Minor and Greece, where he had taken Athens.* SYLLA *is charged with this war. He beſieges and re-takes Athens. He gains three great battles againſt the generals of* MITHRIDATES. *He grants that prince peace in the fourth year of the war. Library of Athens, in which were the works of* ARISTOTLE. SYLLA *cauſes it to be carried to Rome.*

MITHRIDATES, king of Pontus, whoſe hiſtory we are now beginning, and who rendered himſelf ſo famous by the war he ſupported, during almoſt thirty years, againſt the Romans, was ſurnamed Eupator. He deſcended from a houſe, which had given a long ſucceſſion of kings to the kingdom of Pontus. The firſt, according to ſome hiſtorians, was Artabaſus, one of the ſeven princes that ſlew the Magi, and ſet the crown of Perſia upon

upon the head of Darius Hyſtaſpes, who rewarded him with the kingdom of Pontus. But beſides that we do not find the name of Artabaſus amongſt thoſe Perſians, many reaſons induce us to believe, that the prince of whom we ſpeak, was the ſon of Darius, the ſame who is called Artabarzanes, who was competitor with Xerxes for the throne of Perſia, and was made king of Pontus either by his father or his brother, to conſole him for the preference given to Xerxes. His poſterity enjoyed that kingdom during ſeventeen generations. Mithridates Eupator, of whom we ſhall treat in this place, was the ſixteenth from him.

He was but twelve years of age when he began to reign. His father, before his death, had appointed him his ſucceſſor, and had given him his mother for guardian, who was to govern jointly with him. (x) He began his reign by putting his mother and brother to death; and the ſequel anſwered but too well to ſuch a beginning of it. (y) Nothing is ſaid of the firſt years of his reign, except that one of the Roman generals, whom he had corrupted with money, having ſurrendered, and put him into poſſeſſion of Phrygia, it was ſoon after taken from him by the Romans, which gave birth to his enmity for them. A. M. 3880. Ant. J. C. 241.

Ariarathes king of Cappadocia being dead, Mithridates cauſed the two ſons he had left behind him to be put to death, though their mother Laodice was his own ſiſter, and placed one of his own ſons, at that time very young, upon the throne, giving him the name of Ariarathes, and appointing Gordius his guardian and regent. Nicodemes king of Bithynia, who apprehended this increaſe of power would put Mithridates into a condition to poſſeſs himſelf alſo of his dominions in time, thought proper to ſet up a certain young man (who ſeemed very fit for ſuch a part) as third ſon of Ariarathes. He engaged Laodice, whom he had eſpouſed after the death of her firſt A. M. 3913. Ant. J. C. 91.



(x) Memnon in Excerptis Photii, c. xxxii.
(y) Appian. in Mithrid. p. 177, 178.

huſband, to acknowledge him as ſuch, and ſent her to Rome, to aſſiſt and ſupport by her preſence the claim of his pretended ſon, whom ſhe carried thither along with her. The cauſe being brought before the ſenate, both parties were condemned, and a decree paſſed, by which the Cappadocians were declared free. But they ſaid they could not be without a king. The ſenate permitted them to chooſe whom they thought fit. They elected Ariobarzanes, a nobleman of their nation. Sylla, upon his quitting the office of prætor, was charged with the commiſſion of eſtabliſhing him upon the throne. That was the pretext for this expedition; but the real motive of it was, to check the enterpriſes of Mithridates, whoſe power daily augmenting, gave umbrage to the Romans. Sylla executed his commiſſion the following year; and after having defeated a great number of Cappadocians, and a much greater of Armenians, who came to their aid, he expelled Gordius, with the pretended Ariarathes, and ſet Ariobarzanes in his place.

A. M. 3914. Ant. J. C. 90.

Whilſt Sylla was encamped upon the banks of the Euphrates, a Perſian, named Orobaſus, arrived at his camp from king Arſaces*, to demand the alliance and amity of the Romans. Sylla received him at his audience, cauſed three ſeats to be placed in his tent, one for Ariobarzanes, who was preſent, another for Orobaſus, and that in the midſt for himſelf. The Parthian king afterwards, offended at his deputy, for having acquieſced in this inſtance of the Roman pride, cauſed him to be put to death. This is the firſt time the Parthians had any commerce with the Romans.

Mithridates did not dare at that time to oppoſe the eſtabliſhment of Ariobarzanes; but diſſembling the mortification that conduct of the Romans gave him, reſolved to take an opportunity of being revenged upon them. In the mean while, he applied himſelf in cultivating good alliances for the augmentation

* *This was Mithridates II.*

tion of his ſtrength, and began with Tigranes king of Armenia, a very powerful prince. (*a*) Armenia had at firſt appertained to the Perſians; it came under the Macedonians afterwards, and upon the death of Alexander, made part of the kingdom of Syria. Under Antiochus the Great, two of his generals, Artaxius and Zadriadres with that prince's permiſſion, eſtabliſhed themſelves in this province, of which it is probable they were before governors. After the defeat of Antiochus they adhered to the Romans, who acknowledged them as kings. They had divided Armenia into two parts: Tigranes, of whom we now ſpeak, deſcended from Artaxius. He poſſeſſed himſelf of all Armenia, ſubjected ſeveral neighbouring countries by his arms, and thereby formed a very powerful kingdom. Mithridates gave him his daughter Cleopatra in marriage, and engaged him to enter ſo far into his project againſt the Romans, that they agreed Mithridates ſhould have the cities and countries they ſhould conquer for his ſhare, and Tigranes the people, with all the effects capable of being carried away.

Their firſt enterpriſe and act of hoſtility was committed by Tigranes, who deprived Ariobarzanes of Cappadocia, of which the Romans had put him into poſſeſſion, and re-eſtabliſhed Ariarathes, the ſon of Mithridates, in it. Nicomedes, king of Bithynia, happened to die about this time: his eldeſt ſon, called alſo Nicomedes, ought naturally to have ſucceeded him, and was accordingly proclaimed king. But Mithridates ſet up his younger brother Socrates againſt him, who deprived him of the throne by force of arms. The two dethroned kings went to Rome, to implore aid of the ſenate, who decreed their re-eſtabliſhment, and ſent Manius Aquilius and M. Altinius to put that decree in execution. A. M. 3915. Ant. J. C. 89.

They were both re-inſtated. The Romans adviſed them to make irruptions into the lands of Mithridates, promiſing them their ſupport; but neither



(*a*) Strab. l. xi. p. 531, 532.

the one nor the other dared to attack ſo powerful a prince ſo near home. At length, however, Nicomedes, at the joint inſtances of the ambaſſadors, to whom he had promiſed great ſums for his re-eſtabliſhment, and of his creditors, Roman citizens ſettled in Aſia, who had lent him very conſiderably for the ſame effects, could no longer reſiſt their ſollicitations. He made incurſions upon the lands of Mithridates, ravaged all the flat country as far as the city Amaſtris, and returned home laden with booty, which he applied in diſcharging part of his debts.

Mithridates was not ignorant by whoſe advice Nicomedes had committed this irruption. He might eaſily have repulſed him, having a great number of good troops on foot; but he did not take the field. He was glad to place the wrong on the ſide of the Romans, and to have a juſt cauſe for declaring war againſt them. He began by making remonſtrances to their generals and ambaſſadors. Pelopidas was at the head of this embaſſy. He complained of the various contraventions of the Romans to the treaty of alliance ſubſiſting between them and Mithridates, and in particular, of the protection granted by them to Nicomedes, his declared enemy. The ambaſſadors of the latter replied with complaints on their ſide of Mithridates. The Romans, who were unwilling to declare themſelves openly at preſent, gave them an anſwer in looſe and general terms; that the Roman people had no intention that Mithridates and Nicomedes ſhould injure each other.

Mithridates, who was not ſatisfied with this anſwer, made his troops march immediately into Cappadocia, expelled Ariobarzanes again, and ſet his ſon Ariarathes upon the throne, as he had done before. At the ſame time, he ſent his ambaſſador to the Roman generals to make his apology, and to complain of them again. Pelopidas declared to them, that his maſter was contented the Roman people ſhould judge in the affair, and added, that he had already ſent his ambaſſadors to Rome. He exhorted them not to

undertake any thing, till they had received the ſenate's orders; nor engage raſhly in a war, that might be attended with fatal conſequences. For the reſt, he gave them to underſtand, that Mithridates, in caſe juſtice were refuſed him, was in a condition to right himſelf. The Romans, highly offended at ſo haughty a declaration, made anſwer, that Mithridates had orders immediately to withdraw his troops from Cappadocia, and not continue to diſturb Nicomedes or Ariobarzanes. They ordered Pelopidas to quit the camp that moment, and not return, unleſs his maſter obeyed. The other ambaſſadors were no better received at Rome.

The rupture was then inevitable, and the Roman generals did not wait till the orders of the ſenate and people arrived; which was what Mithridates had demanded. The deſign he had long formed of declaring war againſt the Romans, had occaſioned his having made many alliances, and engaged many nations in his intereſts Twenty-two languages, of as many different people, were reckoned amongſt his troops, all which Mithridates himſelf ſpoke with facility. His army conſiſted of two hundred and fifty thouſand foot, and forty thouſand horſe; without including an hundred and thirty armed chariots, and a fleet of four hundred ſhips.

(*e*) Before he proceeded to action, he thought it neceſſary to prepare his troops for it, and made them a * long diſcourſe to animate them againſt the Romans. He repreſented to them, "That there was "no room for examining whether war or peace were "to be preferred; that the Romans, by attacking "them firſt, had ſpared them that enquiry: that "their buſineſs was to fight and conquer: that he "aſſured himſelf of ſucceſs, if the troops perſiſted "to act with the ſame valour they had already ſhown



(*e*) Juſtin. l. xxxviii. c. 3—7.

* *I have abridged this diſcourſe extremely, which Juſtin repeats at length, as it ſtood in Trogus Pompeius, of whom he is only the epitomiſer. The diſcourſe is a ſpecimen of that excellent hiſtorian's ſtile, and ought to make us very much regret the loſs of his writngs.*

" upon ſo many occaſions, and lately againſt the " ſame enemies, whom they had put to flight, and " cut to pieces in Bithynia and Cappadocia: that " there could not be a more favourable opportunity " than the preſent, when the Marſi infeſted and ra- " vaged the heart itſelf of Italy; when Rome was " torn in pieces by civil wars, and an innumerable " army of the Cimbri from Germany over-ran all " Italy: that the time was come for humbling thoſe " proud Republicans, who had the ſame view with " regard to the royal dignity, and had ſworn to pull " down all the thrones of the univerſe: that for " the reſt*, the war his ſoldiers were now entering " upon, was highly different from that they had ſuſ- " tained with ſo much valour in the horrid deſerts, " and frozen regions of Scythia: that he ſhould " lead them into the moſt fruitful and temperate " country of the world, abounding with rich and " opulent cities, which ſeemed to offer themſelves an " eaſy prey: that Aſia, abandoned to be devoured " by the inſatiable avarice of the proconſuls, the in- " exorable cruelty of tax-farmers, and the crying " injuſtice of corrupt judges, had the name of Ro- " man in horrour, and impatiently expected them as " her deliverers: that they followed him not ſo " much to a war, as to aſſured victory and certain " ſpoils." The army anſwered this diſcourſe with univerſal ſhouts of joy, and re-iterated proteſtations of ſervice and fidelity.

The Romans had formed three armies out of their troops

* Nunc ſe diverſam belli conditionem ingredi. Nam neque cœlo Aſiæ eſſe temperatius aliud, nec ſolo fertilius, nec urbium multitudine amœnius; magnamque temporis partem, non ut militiam, ſed ut feſtam diem, acturos, bello dubium facili magis an uberi— tantumque ſe avida expectat Aſia, ut etiam vocibus vocet: adeo illis odium Romanorum incuſſit rapacitas proconſulum, ſectio publicanorum, calumniæ litium. *Juſtin*——Sectio publicanorum *in this paſſage properly ſignifies the forcible ſale of the goods of thoſe, who for default of payment of taxes and impoſts, had their eſtates and effects ſeiſed on and ſold by the publicans.* Calumniæ litium *are the unjuſt quirks and chicanery, which ſerved as pretexts for depriving the rich of their eſtates, either upon account of taxes, or under ſome other colour.*

troops in the ſeveral parts of A was a great treaſure was commanded by Caſſius, who ha e it. Cleopatra of the province of Pergamus; the ſec hen ſhe un- Aquilius; the third by Q. Oppius proco athyrus. province of Pamphylia. Each of them h lents, thouſand men, including the cavalry. Beſides in troops, Nicomedes had fifty thouſand foot, and fi. thouſand horſe. They began the war, as I have already obſerved, without waiting orders from Rome, and carried it on with ſo much negligence and ſo little conduct, that they were all three defeated on different occaſions, and their armies ruined. Aquilius and Oppius themſelves were taken priſoners, and treated with all kinds of inſults. Mithridates, conſidering Aquilius as the principal author of the war, treated him with the higheſt indignites. He made him paſs in review before the troops, and preſented him as a ſight to the people mounted on an aſs, obliging him to cry out with a loud voice, that he was Manius Aquilius. At other times he obliged him to walk on foot with his hands faſtened by a chain to a horſe, that drew him along. At laſt he made him ſwallow molten lead, and put him to death with the moſt exquiſite torments. The people of Mitylene had treacherouſly delivered him up to Mithridates, at a time when he was ſick, and had retired to their city for the recovery of his health.

(f) Mithridates, who was deſirous of gaining the people's hearts by his reputation for clemency, ſent home all the Greeks he had taken priſoners, and ſupplied them with proviſions for their journey. That inſtance of his goodneſs and lenity opened the gates of all the cities to him. The people came out to meet him every where with acclamations of joy. They gave him exceſſive praiſes, called him the preſerver, the father of the people, the deliverer of Aſia, with all the other names aſcribed to Bacchus, to which he had a juſt title, for he paſſed for the prince of

(f) Diod. in Excerpt. Valeſ. p. 461. Athen. l v. p. 213. Cic. Orat. pro Flacco, n. 60.

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troops in the ſeveral parts of Aſia Minor. The firſt was commanded by Caſſius, who had the government of the province of Pergamus; the ſecond by Manius Aquilius; the third by Q. Oppius proconſul, in the province of Pamphylia. Each of them had forty thouſand men, including the cavalry. Beſides theſe troops, Nicomedes had fifty thouſand foot, and ſix thouſand horſe. They began the war, as I have already obſerved, without waiting orders from Rome, and carried it on with ſo much negligence and ſo little conduct, that they were all three defeated on different occaſions, and their armies ruined. Aquilius and Oppius themſelves were taken priſoners, and treated with all kinds of inſults. Mithridates, conſidering Aquilius as the principal author of the war, treated him with the higheſt indignites. He made him paſs in review before the troops, and preſented him as a ſight to the people mounted on an aſs, obliging him to cry out with a loud voice, that he was Manius Aquilius. At other times he obliged him to walk on foot with his hands faſtened by a chain to a horſe, that drew him along. At laſt he made him ſwallow molten lead, and put him to death with the moſt exquiſite torments. The people of Mitylene had treacherouſly delivered him up to Mithridates, at a time when he was ſick, and had retired to their city for the recovery of his health.

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(*f*) Diod. in Excerpt. Valeſ. p. 461. Athen. l v. p. 213. Cic. Orat. pro Flacco, n. 60.

of his times, (*g*) who could drink moſt without being diſordered; a quality he valued himſelf upon, and thought much to his honour.

The fruits of his firſt victories were the conqueſt of all Bithynia, from which Nicomedes was driven; of Phrygia and Myſia, lately made Roman provinces; of Lycia, Pamphylia, Paphlagonia, and ſeveral other countries.

Having found at Stratonicea a young maid of exquiſite beauty, named Monima, he took her along with him in his train.

A. M. 3916. Ant. J. C. 88. (*h*) Mithridates conſidering that the Romans, and all the Italians in general, who were at that time in Aſia Minor upon different affairs, carried on ſecret intrigues much to the prejudice of his intereſts, he ſent private orders from Epheſus, where he then was, to the governors of the provinces, and magiſtrates of the cities of Aſia Minor, to maſſacre them all upon a day fixed *. The women, children, and domeſticks, were included in this proſcription. To theſe orders was annexed a prohibition, to give interment to thoſe who ſhould be killed. Their eſtates and effects were to be confiſcated for the uſe of the king, and the murtherers. A ſevere fine was laid upon ſuch as ſhould conceal the living, or bury the dead; and a reward appointed for whoever diſcovered thoſe who were hid. Liberty was given to the ſlaves, who killed their maſters; and debtors forgiven half their debts, for killing their creditors. The repetition only of this horrid order, is enough to make one tremble with horrour. What then muſt have been the deſolation in all thoſe provinces when it was put in execution! Fourſcore thouſand Romans and Italians were butchered in conſequence of it. Some make the ſlain amount to almoſt twice that number.

Being

(*g*) Plut. Sympoſ. l. i. p. 624.
(*h*) Appian. p. 185. Cic. in Orat. pro lege Manil. n. 7.

* Is uno die, tota Aſia, tot in civitatibus, uno nuntio, atque una literarum ſignificatione, cives Romanos necandos trucidandoſque denotavit. *Cic.*

(*i*) Being informed that there was a great treaſure at Cos, he ſent people thither to ſeiſe it. Cleopatra queen of Egypt had depoſited it there, when ſhe undertook the war in Phœnicia againſt her ſon Lathyrus. Beſides this treaſure, they found eight hundred talents, (eight hundred thouſand crowns) which the Jews in Aſia Minor had depoſited there, when they ſaw the war ready to break out.

(*k*) All thoſe, who had found means to eſcape this general ſlaughter in Aſia, had taken refuge in Rhodes, which received them with joy, and afforded them a ſecret retreat. Mithridates laid ſiege to that city ineffectually, which he was ſoon obliged to raiſe, after having been in danger of being taken himſelf in a ſea-fight, wherein he loſt many of his ſhips.

(*l*) When he had made himſelf maſter of Aſia Minor, Mithridates ſent Archelaus, one of his generals, with an army of an hundred and twenty thouſand men into Greece. That general took Athens, and choſe it for his reſidence, giving all orders from thence, in regard to the war on that ſide. During his ſtay there, he engaged moſt of the cities and ſtates of Greece in the intereſts of his maſter. He reduced Delos by force, which had revolted from the Athenians, and re-inſtated them in the poſſeſſion of it. He ſent them the ſacred treaſure, kept in that iſland by Ariſtion, to whom he gave two thouſand men as a guard for the money. Ariſtion was an Athenian philoſopher, of the ſect of Epicurus. He employed the two thouſand men under his command to ſeiſe all authority at Athens, where he exerciſed a moſt cruel tyranny, putting many of the citizens to death, and ſending many to Mithridates, upon pretence that they were of the Roman faction.

Such was the ſtate of affairs when Sylla was charged with the war againſt Mithridates. He ſet out immediately for Greece with five legions, and ſome cohorts A. M. 3917. Ant. J. C. 87.

(*i*) Appian. p. 186. Joſeph. Antiq. l. xiv. c. 12. (*k*) Appian. p. 186—188. Diod. in Excerpt. p. 402. (*l*) Plut. in Sylla, p. 458—461. Appian. in Mithrid. p. 188—197.

cohorts and cavalry. Mithridates was at that time at Pergamus, where he diſtributed riches, governments, and other rewards to his friends.

Upon Sylla's arrival, all the cities opened their gates to him, except Athens, which, ſubjected to the tyrant Ariſtion's yoke, was obliged unwillingly to oppoſe him. The Roman general, having entered Attica, divided his troops into two bodies, the one of which he ſent to beſiege Ariſtion in the city of Athens, and with the other he marched in perſon to the port Pyræeus, which was a kind of ſecond city, where Archelaus had ſhut himſelf up, relying upon the ſtrength of the place, the walls being almoſt ſixty feet high, and entirely of hewn ſtone. The work was indeed very ſtrong, and had been raiſed by the order of Pericles in the Peloponneſian war, when the hopes of victory depending ſolely upon this port, he had fortified it to the utmoſt of his power.

The height of the walls did not amaze Sylla. He employed all ſorts of engines in battering it, and made continual aſſaults. If he would have waited a little, he might have taken the higher city without ſtriking a blow, which was reduced by famine to the laſt extremity. But being in haſte to return to Rome, and apprehending the changes that might happen there in his abſence, he ſpared neither danger, attacks, nor expence, in order to haſten the concluſion of that war. Without enumerating the reſt of the warlike ſtores and equipage, twenty thouſand mules were perpetually employed in working the machines only. Wood happening to fall ſhort, from the great conſumption made of it in the machines, which were often either broke and ſpoiled by the vaſt weight they carried, or burnt by the enemy, he did not ſpare the ſacred groves. He cut down the trees in the walks of the Academy and Lycæum, which were the fineſt and beſt planted in the ſuburbs, and cauſed the high walls that joined the port to the city to be demoliſhed, in order to make uſe of the ruins in erecting his works, and carrying on his approaches.

As

As he had occaſion for abundance of money in this war, and deſired to attach the ſoldiers to his intereſts, and to animate them by great rewards, he had recourſe to the inviolable treaſures of the temples, and cauſed the fineſt and moſt precious gifts, conſecrated at Epidaurus and Olympia, to be brought from thence. He wrote to the Amphyctions aſſembled at Delphos, "That they would act wiſely "in ſending him the treaſures of the god, becauſe "they would be more ſecure in his hands; and if he "ſhould be obliged to make uſe of them, he would "return the value after the war." At the ſame time he ſent one of his friends, named Caphis, a native of Phocis, to Delphos, to receive all thoſe treaſures by weight.

When Caphis arrived at Delphos, he was afraid, out of reverence for the god, to meddle with the gifts conſecrated to him, and wept, in the preſence of the Amphyctions, the neceſſity impoſed upon him. Upon which, ſome perſon there having ſaid, that he heard the ſound of Apollo's lyre from the inſide of the ſanctuary, Caphis, whether he really believed it, or was for taking that occaſion to ſtrike Sylla with a religious awe, he wrote him an account of what happened. Sylla, deriding his ſimplicity, replied, "That "he was ſurpriſed he ſhould not comprehend, that "ſinging was a ſign of joy, and by no means of anger "and reſentment; and therefore he had nothing to "do but to take the treaſures boldly, and be aſſured, "that the god ſaw him do ſo with pleaſure, and gave "them to him himſelf."

Plutarch, on this occaſion, obſerves upon the difference between the ancient Roman generals, and thoſe of the times we now ſpeak of. The former, whom merit alone had raiſed to office, and who had no views from employments but the publick good, knew how to make the ſoldiers reſpect and obey them, without deſcending to uſe low and unworthy methods for that purpoſe. They commanded troops, that were wiſe, diſciplined, and well inured to execute

cute the orders of their generals without reply or delay. Truely kings, ſays * Plutarch, in the grandeur and nobility of their ſentiments, but ſimple and modeſt private perſons in their train and equipage, they put the ſtate to no other expence in the diſcharge of their offices, than what was reaſonable and neceſſary, conceiving it more ſhameful in a captain to flatter his ſoldiers, than to fear his enemies. Things were much changed in the times we now ſpeak of. The Roman generals, abandoned to inſatiable ambition and luxury, were obliged to make themſelves ſlaves to their ſoldiers, and to buy their ſervices by gifts proportioned to their avidity, and often by the toleration and impunity of the greateſt crimes.

Sylla, in conſequence, was perpetually in extreme want of money to ſatisfy his troops, and then more than ever for carrying on the ſiege he had engaged in, the ſucceſs of which ſeemed to him of the higheſt importance, both to his honour and ſafety. He was for depriving Mithridates of the only city he had left in Greece, and which, by preventing the Romans from paſſing into Aſia, made all hopes of conquering that prince vain, and would oblige Sylla to return ſhamefully into Italy, where he would have found more terrible enemies in Marius and his faction. He was beſides ſenſibly galled by the offenſive raillery Ariſtion vented every day againſt himſelf and his wife Metella.

It is not eaſy to ſay whether the attack or defence were conducted with moſt vigour; for both ſides behaved with incredible courage and reſolution. The ſallies were frequent, and attended with almoſt battles in form, in which the ſlaughter was great, and the loſs generally not very unequal. The beſieged would not have been in a condition to have made ſo vigorous a defence, if they had not received ſeveral conſiderable re-inforcements by ſea.

What hurt them moſt, was the ſecret treachery of two Athenian ſlaves who were in the Piræeus. Thoſe ſlaves,

* Αὐλοῖ τε ταῖς ψυχαῖς βασιλικοὶ καὶ ταῖς δαπαναῖς τελεταῖς ὄντες.

ſlaves, whether out of affection to the Roman party, or deſirous of providing for their own ſafety, in caſe the place was taken, wrote upon leaden balls all that paſſed within, and threw them with ſlings to the Romans. So that whatever wiſe meaſures Archelaus took, who defended the Piræus, whilſt Ariſtion commanded in the city, nothing ſucceeded. He reſolved to make a general ſally; the traitors ſlung a leaden ball with this intelligence upon it: *To-morrow, at ſuch an hour, the foot will attack your works, and the horſe your camp.* Sylla laid ambuſhes, and repulſed the beſieged with loſs. A convoy of proviſions was in the night to have been thrown into the city which was in want of all things. Upon advice of the ſame kind the convoy was intercepted.

Notwithſtanding all theſe diſadvantages, the Athenians defended themſelves like lions. They found means either to burn moſt of the machines erected againſt the wall, or by undermining them to throw them down and break them to pieces.

The Romans, on their ſide, behaved with no leſs vigour. By the help of mines alſo they made a way to the bottom of the walls, under which they hollowed the ground, and having propt the foundation with beams of wood, they afterwards ſet fire to the props with a great quantity of pitch, ſulphur, and tow. When thoſe beams were burnt, part of the wall fell down with an horrible noiſe, and a large breach was opened, through which the Romans advanced to the aſſault. The battle continued a great while with equal ardour on both ſides, but the Romans were at length obliged to retire. The next day they renewed the attack. The beſieged had built a new wall during the night in the form of a creſcent, in the place where the other had fallen; and the Romans found it impoſſible to force it.

Sylla, diſcouraged by ſo obſtinate a defence, reſolved to attack the Piræus no longer, and confined himſelf to reduce the place by famine. The city, on the other ſide, was at the laſt extremity. A buſhel

of

of barley had been ſold in it for a thouſand drachmas (about five-and-twenty pounds ſterling.) The inhabitants did not only eat the graſs and roots, which they found about the citadel, but the fleſh of horſes, and their leather ſhoes, which they boiled ſoft. In the midſt of the publick miſery, the tyrant paſſed his days and nights in debauch. The ſenators and prieſts went to throw themſelves at his feet, conjuring him to have pity on the city, and to obtain a capitulation from Sylla: He diſperſed them with arrow-ſhot, and in that manner drove them from his preſence.

He did not demand a ceſſation of arms, nor ſend deputies to Sylla, till reduced to the laſt extremity. As thoſe deputies made no propoſals, and aſked nothing of him to the purpoſe, but ran on in praiſing and extolling Theſeus, Eumolpus, and the exploits of the Athenians againſt the Medes; Sylla was tired with their diſcourſe, and interrupted them, by ſaying, "Gentlemen haranguers, you may go back again, "and keep your rhetorical flouriſhes for yourſelves. "For my part, I was not ſent to Athens to be in-"formed of your ancient proweſs, but to chaſtiſe your "modern revolt."

During this audience, ſome ſpies having entered the city, overheard by chance ſome old men talking of the quarter called * Ceramicus, and blaming the tyrant exceedingly for not guarding a certain part of the wall, that was the only place by which the enemy might eaſily ſcale the walls. At their return into the camp, they related what they had heard to Sylla. The parley had been to no purpoſe. Sylla did not neglect the intelligence given him. The next night he went in perſon to take a view of the place, and finding the wall actually acceſſible, he ordered ladders to be raiſed againſt it, began the attack there, and having made himſelf maſter of the wall after a weak reſiſtance, entered the city. He would not ſuffer it to be ſet on fire, but abandoned it to be plundered by

* *The publick place at Athens.*

by the ſoldiers, who in ſeveral houſes found human fleſh, which had been dreſſed to be eaten. A dreadful ſlaughter enſued. The next day all the ſlaves were ſold by auction, and liberty was granted to the citizens who had eſcaped the ſwords of the ſoldiers, who were a very ſmall number. He beſieged the citadel the ſame day, where Ariſtion, and thoſe who had taken refuge there, were ſoon ſo much reduced by famine, that they were forced to ſurrender themſelves. The tyrant, his guards, and all who had been in any office under him, were put to death.

Some few days after, Sylla made himſelf maſter of the Piræeus, and burnt all its fortifications, eſpecially the arſenal, which had been built by Philo, the celebrated architect, and was a wonderful fabrick. Archelaus, by the help of his fleet, had retired to Munichia, another port of Attica.

This year was fatal to the arms of Mithridates. Taxilus one of his generals arrived in Greece from Thrace and Macedonia, with an army of a hundred thouſand foot, and ten thouſand horſe, with fourſcore and ten chariots armed with ſcythes. Archelaus, that general's brother, was at that time in the port of Munichia, and would neither remove from the ſea, nor come to a battle with the Romans; but he endeavoured to protract the war, and cut off their proviſions. This was very wiſe conduct, for Sylla began to be in want of them; ſo that famine obliged him to quit Attica, and to enter the fruitful plains of Bœotia, where Hortenſius joined him. Their troops being united, they took poſſeſſion of a fertile eminence in the midſt of the plains of Elatea, at the foot of which ran a rivulet. When they had formed their camp, the enemies could diſcover at a view their ſmall number, which amounted to only fifteen thouſand foot, and fifteen hundred horſe. This induced Archelaus's generals to preſs him in the warmeſt manner to proceed to action. They did not obtain his conſent without great difficulty. They immediately began

to move, and covered the whole plain with horſes, chariots, and their innumerable troops. For when the two brothers were joined, their army was very formidable. The noiſe and cries of ſo many nations, and ſo many thouſands of men preparing for battle, the pomp and magnificence of their array, were equally terrible. The brightneſs of their arms magnificently adorned with gold and ſilver, and the lively colours of the Median and Scythian coats of arms, mingled with the glitter of braſs and ſteel, reflected a kind of rays, which, whilſt it dazzled the ſight, filled the ſoul with terrour.

The Romans, ſeiſed with dread, kept cloſe within their entrenchments. Sylla not being able by his diſcourſe and remonſtrances to remove their fear, and not being willing to force them to fight in their preſent univerſal diſcouragement, was obliged to lie ſtill, and ſuffer, though with great impatience, the bravadoes and inſulting deriſion of the Barbarians. They conceived ſo great a contempt for him in conſequence that they neglected to obſerve any diſcipline. Few of them kept within their entrenchments; the reſt, for the ſake of plunder, diſperſed in great troops, and removed conſiderably, even ſeveral days journey from the camp. They plundered and ruined ſome cities in the neighbourhood.

Sylla was in the laſt deſpair, when he ſaw the cities of the allies deſtroyed before his eyes, for want of power to make his army fight. He at laſt thought of a ſtratagem, which was to give the troops no repoſe, and to keep them inceſſantly at work in turning the little river Cephiſus, which was near the camp, and in digging deep and large foſſés, under pretence of their better ſecurity, but in effect, that when they ſhould be tired of ſuch great fatigues, they might prefer the hazard of a battle to the continuance of their labour. His ſtratagem was ſucceſsful. After having worked without intermiſſion three days, as Sylla, according to cuſtom, was taking a view of their progreſs, they cried out to him with one voice to lead them

them againſt the enemy. Sylla ſuffered himſelf to be exceedingly intreated, and did not comply for ſome time: But when he ſaw their ardour increaſe from his oppoſitions, he made them ſtand to their arms, and marched againſt the enemy.

The battle was fought near Cheronæa. The enemy had poſſeſſed themſelves with a great body of troops of a very advantageous poſt, called Thurium: It was the ridge of a ſteep mountain, which extended itſelf upon the left flank of the Romans, and was very proper to check their motions. Two men of Cheronæa came to Sylla, and promiſed him to drive the enemy from this poſt, if he would give them a ſmall number of choſen troops; which he did. In the mean time he drew up his army in battle, divided his horſe between the two wings, taking the right himſelf, and giving the left to Murena. Galba and Hortenſius formed a ſecond line. Hortenſius, on the left of it, ſupported Murena, whilſt Galba, on the right, did the ſame for Sylla. The Barbarians had already begun to extend the horſe, and light-armed foot, in a large compaſs, with deſign to ſurround the ſecond line, and charge it in the rear.

At that inſtant the two men of Cheronæa, having gained the top of Thurium with their ſmall troop, without being perceived by the enemy, ſhowed themſelves on a ſudden. The Barbarians, ſurpriſed and terrified, immediately took to flight. Preſſing againſt each other upon the declivity of the mountain, they ran precipitately down before the enemy, who charged and purſued them down the hill with their ſwords at their backs; ſo that about three thouſand men were killed upon the mountain. Of thoſe who eſcaped, ſome fell into the hands of Murena, who had juſt before formed himſelf in battle. Having marched againſt them, he intercepted, and made a great ſlaughter of them: The reſt, who endeavoured to regain their camp, fell in upon the main body of their troops with ſo much precipitation, that they threw the whole army into terrour and confuſion, and

made their generals loſe much time in reſtoring order, which was one of the principal cauſes of their defeat.

Sylla, to take advantage of this diſorder, marched againſt them with ſo much vigour, and paſſed the ſpace between the two armies with ſuch rapidity, that he prevented the effect of their chariots armed with ſcythes. The force of theſe chariots depended upon the length of their courſe, which gave impetuoſity and violence to their motion; inſtead of which, a ſhort ſpace that did not leave room for their career, rendered them uſeleſs and ineffectual. This the Barbarians experienced at this time. The firſt chariots came on ſo ſlowly, and with ſo little effect, that the Romans eaſily puſhing them back, with great noiſe and loud laughter called for more, as was cuſtomary at Rome in the chariot-races of the Circus.

After thoſe chariots were removed, the two armies came to blows. The Barbarians preſented their long pikes, and kept cloſe order with their bucklers joined, ſo that they could not be broke; and the Romans threw down their javelins, and, with ſword in hand, removed the enemies pikes, in order to join and charge them with great fury. What increaſed their animoſity, was the ſight of fifteen thouſand ſlaves, whom the king's generals had ſpirited from them by the promiſe of their liberty, and poſted them amongſt the heavy-armed foot. Thoſe ſlaves had ſo much reſolution and bravery, that they ſuſtained the ſhock of the Roman foot without giving way. Their battle was ſo deep and ſo well cloſed, that the Romans could neither break nor move them, till the light-armed foot of the ſecond line had put them into diſorder, by the diſcharge of their arrows, and an hail of ſtones from their ſlings, which forced them to give ground.

Archelaus having made his right wing advance to ſurround the left of the Romans, Hortenſius led on the troops under his command to take him in flank; which

which Archelaus ſeeing, he ordered two thouſand horſe to wheel about. Hortenſius, upon the point of being overpowered by that great body of horſe, retired by degrees towards the mountains, perceiving himſelf too far from the main body, and upon the point of being ſurrounded by the enemy. Sylla, with great part of his right wing, which had not yet engaged, marched to his relief. From the duſt raiſed by thoſe troops, Archelaus judged what they were, and leaving Hortenſius, he turned about towards the place Sylla had quitted, in hopes he ſhould find no difficulty in defeating the right wing without its general.

Taxilus, at the ſame time, led on his foot, armed with brazen ſhields, againſt * Murena; whilſt each ſide raiſed great cries, which made the neighbouring hills reſound. Sylla halted on that noiſe, not knowing well to which ſide he ſhould haſten. At length, he thought it moſt expedient to return to his former poſt, and ſupport his right wing. He therefore ſent Hortenſius to aſſiſt Murena with four cohorts, and taking the fifth with him, he flew to his right wing, which he found engaged in battle with Archelaus, neither ſide having the advantage. But as ſoon as he appeared, that wing taking new courage from the preſence of their general, opened their way through the troops of Archelaus, put them to flight, and purſued them vigorouſly for a conſiderable time.

After this great ſucceſs, without loſing a moment, he marched to the aid of Murena. Finding him alſo victorious, and that he had defeated Taxilus, he joined him in the purſuit of the vanquiſhed. A great number of the Barbarians were killed in the plain, and a much greater cut to pieces, in endeavouring to gain their camp; ſo that, of many thouſand men, only ten thouſand eſcaped, who fled to the city of Chalcis. Sylla wrote in his memoirs, that only fourteen of his men were miſſing, and that two of them returned the ſame evening.



* *Chalcuſpides.*

A. M. 3919. Ant. J. C. 85. To celebrate ſo great a victory, he gave the Muſick-games at Thebes, and cauſed judges to come from the neighbouring Grecian cities to diſtribute the prizes; for he had an implacable averſion for the Thebans. He even deprived them of half their territory, which he conſecrated to Apollo Pythius, and Jupiter Olympius, and decreed, that the money he had taken out of the temples of thoſe gods ſhould be repaid out of their revenues.

Theſe games were no ſooner over, than he received advice, that L. Valerius Flaccus of the adverſe party (for at this time the diviſions between Marius and Sylla were at the higheſt) had been elected conſul, and had already croſſed the Ionian ſea with an army, in appearance againſt Mithridates, but in reality againſt himſelf. For this reaſon he began his march to Theſſaly, as with deſign to meet him. But being arrived * at the city of Melitea, news came to him from all ſides, that all the places he had left in his rear were plundered by another of the king's armies, ſtronger and more numerous than the firſt. For Dorylaus was arrived at Chalcis with a great fleet, on board of which were fourſcore thouſand men, the beſt equipped, the moſt warlike and diſciplined of all Mithridates's troops, and had thrown himſelf into Bœotia, and poſſeſſed himſelf of the whole country, in order to bring Sylla to a battle. Archelaus would have diverted him from that deſign, by giving him an exact acount of the battle he had ſo lately loſt; but his counſel and remonſtrances had no effect. He ſoon knew, that the advice he had given him, was highly reaſonable and judicious.

He choſe the plain of Orchomenus for the field of battle. Sylla cauſed foſſés to be dug on each ſide of the plain, to deprive the enemy of the advantage of an open country, and to remove them towards the marſhes. The Barbarians fell furiouſly on the workmen, diſperſed them, and put to flight the troops that ſupported them. Sylla, ſeeing his army flying in

* *In Theſſaly.*

in this manner, quitted his horſe immediately, and ſeiſing one of his enſigns, he puſhed forwards towards the enemy through thoſe that fled, crying to them, *For me, Romans, I think it glorious to die here. But for you, when you ſhall be aſked where you abandoned your general, remember to ſay it was at Orchomenus.* They could not ſuffer thoſe reproaches, and returned to the charge with ſuch fury, that they made Archelaus's troops turn their backs. The Barbarians came on again in better order than before, and were again repulſed with greater loſs.

The next day, at ſun-riſe, Sylla led back his troops towards the enemy's camp, to continue his trenches, and falling upon thoſe who were detached to ſkirmiſh and drive away the workmen, he charged them ſo rudely, that he put them to flight. Theſe threw the troops, who had continued in the camp, into ſuch terror, that they were afraid to ſtay to defend it. Sylla entered it pell-mell with thoſe who fled, and made himſelf maſter of it. The marſhes, in a moment, were dyed with blood, and the dike filled with dead bodies. The enemies, in different attacks, loſt the greateſt part of their troops. Archelaus continued a great while hid in the marſhes, and eſcaped at laſt to Chalcis.

The news of all theſe defeats threw Mithridates into great conſternation. However, as that prince was by nature fruitful in reſources, he did not loſe courage, and applied himſelf to repair his loſſes by making new levies. But from the fear, that his ill ſucceſs might give birth to ſome revolt or conſpiracy againſt his perſon, as had already happened, he took the bloody precaution of putting all he ſuſpected to death, without ſparing even his beſt friends.

(*o*) He was not more ſucceſsful in Aſia himſelf, than his generals had been in Greece. Fimbria, who commanded a Roman army there, beat the remainder



(*o*) Plut in Sylla, p. 466—468. Id. in Lucul. p. 493. Appian. p. 204—210.

of his beſt troops. He purſued the vanquiſhed as far as the gates of Pergamus, where Mithridates reſided, and obliged him to quit that place himſelf, and retire to Pitane, a maritime place of Troas. Fimbria purſued him thither, and inveſted him by land. But as he had no fleet to do the ſame by ſea, he ſent to Lucullus, who cruiſed in the neighbouring ſeas with the Roman fleet, and repreſented to him, that he might acquire immortal glory, by ſeiſing the perſon of Mithridates, who could not eſcape him, and by putting an end to ſo important a war. Fimbria and Lucullus were of two different factions. The latter would not be concerned in the affairs of the other. So that Mithridates eſcaped by ſea to Mitylene, and extricated himſelf out of the hands of the Romans. This fault coſt them very dear, and is not extraordinary in ſtates, where miſunderſtandings ſubſiſt between the miniſters and generals of the army, which make them neglect the publick good, leſt they ſhould contribute to the glory of their rivals.

Lucullus afterwards beat Mithridates's fleet twice, and gained two great victories over him. This happy ſucceſs was the more ſurpriſing, as it was not expected from Lucullus to diſtinguiſh himſelf by military exploits. He had paſſed his youth in the ſtudies of the bar; and during his being quæſtor in Aſia the province had always enjoyed peace. But ſo happy a genius as his did not want to be taught by experience, which is not to be acquired by leſſons, and is generally the growth of many years. He ſupplied that defect in ſome meaſure, by employing the whole time of his journey, by land and ſea, partly in aſking queſtions of perſons experienced in the art of war, and partly in inſtructing himſelf by the reading of hiſtory. So that he arrived in Aſia a complete general, though he left Rome with only a moderate knowledge in the art of war *. Let your young warriors

* Ad Mithridaticum bellum miſſus à ſenatu, non modo opinionem vicit omnium quæ de virtute ejus erat, ſed etiam gloriam ſuperi-

warriors conſider this with due attention, and obſerve in what manner the great form themſelves.

Whilſt Sylla was very ſucceſsful in Greece, the faction that oppoſed him, and at that time engroſſed all power at Rome, had declared him an enemy of the commonwealth. Cinna and Carbo treated the nobleſt and moſt conſiderable perſons with every kind of cruelty and injuſtice. Moſt of theſe, to avoid this inſupportable tyranny, had choſen to retire to Sylla's camp, as to a port of ſafety; ſo that in a ſmall time Sylla had a little ſenate about him. His wife Metella, having eſcaped with great difficulty with her children, brought him an account that his enemies had burnt his houſe, and ruined his lands, and begged him to depart immediately to the relief of thoſe, who remained in Rome, and were upon the point of being made victims of the ſame fury.

Sylla was in the greateſt perplexity. On the one ſide, the miſerable condition to which his country was reduced, inclined him to march directly to its relief; on the other, he could not reſolve to leave imperfect ſo great and important an affair as the war with Mithridates. Whilſt he was under this cruel dilemma, a merchant came to him, to treat with him in ſecret from general Archelaus, and to make him ſome propoſals of an accommodation. He was ſo exceedingly rejoiced when this man had explained his commiſſion, that he made all poſſible haſte to have a conference with that general.

They had an interview upon the banks of the ſea, near the little city of Delium. Archelaus, who did not

ſuperiorum. Idque eo fuit mirabiliùs, quod ab eo laus imperatoria non expectabatur, qui adoleſcentiam in forenſi opera, quæſtura diuturnum tempus, Murena bellum in Ponto gerente, in Aſiæ pace conſumpſerat. Sed incredibilis quædam ingenii magnitudo non deſideravit indocilem usûs diſciplinam. Itaque cum totum iter & navigationem conſumpſiſſet, partim in percontando à peritis, partim in rebus geſtis legendis; in Aſiam factus imperator venit, cum eſſet Roma profectus rei militaris rudis. *Cic. Academ. Quæſt.* l. vi. n. 2.

not know how important it was to Sylla, to have it in his power to repaſs into Italy, propoſed to him the uniting his intereſt with thoſe of Mithridates; and added that his maſter would ſupply him with money, troops, and ſhips, for a war againſt the faction of Cinna and Marius.

Sylla, without ſeeming offended at firſt with ſuch propoſals, exhorted him on his ſide to withdraw himſelf from the ſlavery in which he lived, under an imperious and cruel prince. He added, that he might take upon him the title of king in his government, and offered to have him declared the ally and friend of the Roman people, if he would deliver up to him Mithridates's fleet under his command. Archelaus rejected that propoſal with indignation, and even expreſſed to the Roman general, how much he thought himſelf injured by the ſuppoſition of his being capable of ſuch a treaſon. Upon which Sylla, aſſuming the air of grandeur and dignity ſo natural to the Romans, ſaid to him: "If being only a ſlave, "and at beſt but an officer of a Barbarian king, "you look upon it as a baſeneſs to quit the ſervice "of your maſter, how dared you to propoſe the aban- "doning the intereſts of the republick to ſuch a Ro- "man as me? Do you imagine our condition and "affairs to be equal? Have you forgot my victories? "Do you not remember, that you are the ſame "Archelaus I have defeated in two battles, and "forced in the laſt to hide himſelf in the marſhes of "Orchomenus?"

Archelaus, confounded by ſo haughty an anſwer, ſuſtained himſelf no longer in the ſequel of the negociation. Sylla got the aſcendant entirely, and, dictating the law as victor, propoſed the following conditions: "That Mithridates ſhould renounce Aſia "and Paphlagonia: that he ſhould reſtore Bithynia "to Nicomedes, and Cappadocia to Ariobarzanes: "that he ſhould pay the Romans two thouſand "talents (about three hundred thouſand pounds ſter- "ling) for the expences of the war, and ſeventy

"armed

" armed gallies, with their whole equipage; and " that Sylla, on his ſide, ſhould ſecure to Mithri- " dates the reſt of his dominions, and cauſe him to " be declared the friend and ally of the Roman " people." Archelaus ſeemed to approve thoſe conditions; and diſpatched a courier immediately to communicate them to Mithridates. Sylla ſet out for the Helleſpont, carrying Archelaus with him, whom he treated with great honours.

He received Mithridates's ambaſſadors at Lariſſa, who came to declare to him, that their maſter accepted and ratified all the other articles, but that he deſired he would not deprive him of Paphlagonia; and that as to the ſeventy gallies, he could by no means comply with that article. Sylla, offended at this refuſal, anſwered them in an angry tone: " What " ſay you? Would Mithridates keep poſſeſſion of " Paphlagonia, and does he refuſe me the gallies I " demanded? I expected to have ſeen him return " me thanks upon his knees, for having only left " him the hand with which he butchered an hundred " thouſand Romans. He will change his note when " I go over to Aſia; though at preſent in the midſt " of the court at Pergamus, he meditates plans for a " war he never ſaw." Such was the lofty ſtile of Sylla, who gave Mithridates to underſtand at the ſame time that he would not talk ſuch language, had he been preſent at the paſt battles.

The ambaſſadors, terrified with this anſwer, made no reply. Archelaus endeavoured to ſoften Sylla, and promiſed him, that Mithridates ſhould conſent to all the articles. He ſet out for that purpoſe, and Sylla, after having laid waſte the country, returned into Macedonia.

Archelaus upon his return joined him at the city of Philippi, and informed him, that Mithridates would accept the propoſed conditions; but that he exceedingly deſired to have a conference with him. What made him earneſt for this interview was his fear of Fimbria, who having killed Flaccus, of whom mention A. M. 3920. Ant. J. C. 84.

tion is made before, and put himſelf at the head of that conſul's army, advanced by great marches againſt Mithridates; which determined that prince to make peace with Sylla. They had an interview at Dardania, a city of Troas. Mithridates had with him two hundred gallies, twenty thouſand foot, ſix thouſand horſe, and a great number of chariots armed with ſcythes: And Sylla had only four cohorts, and two hundred horſe in his company. When Mithridates advanced to meet him, and offered him his hand, Sylla aſked him, whether he accepted the propoſed conditions? As the king kept ſilence, Sylla continued, "Do you not know, Mithridates, that it "is for ſuppliants to ſpeak, and for the victorious to "hear and be ſilent?" Upon this Mithridates began a long apology, endeavouring to aſcribe the cauſe of the war, partly to the gods, and partly to the Romans. Sylla interrupted him, and after having made a long detail of the violences and inhumanities he had committed, he demanded of him a ſecond time, whether he would ratify the conditions Archelaus had laid before him. Mithridates, ſurpriſed at the haughtineſs and ſteady air of the Roman general, having anſwered in the affirmative, Sylla then received his embraces; and afterwards preſenting the kings, Ariobarzanes and Nicomedes, to him, he reconciled them to each other. Mithridates, after the delivery of the ſeventy gallies entirely equipped, and five hundred archers, re-embarked.

Sylla ſaw plainly, that this treaty of peace was highly diſagreeable to his troops. They could not bear that a prince, who of all kings was the moſt mortal enemy to Rome, and who in one day had cauſed an hundred thouſand Roman citizens diſperſed in Aſia to be put to the ſword, ſhould be treated with ſo much favour, and even honour, and declared the friend and ally of the Romans almoſt ſtill reeking with their blood. Sylla, to juſtify his conduct, gave them to underſtand, that if he had rejected his propoſals of peace, Mithridates, on his refuſal, would

not

not have failed to treat with Fimbria; and that, if thoſe two enemies had joined their forces, they would have obliged him either to abandon his conqueſts, or hazard a battle againſt troops, ſuperior in number, under the command of two great captains, who in one day might have deprived him of the fruit of all his victories.

Thus ended the firſt war with Mithridates, which had laſted four years, and in which Sylla had deſtroyed more than an hundred and ſixty thouſand of the enemy; recovered Greece, Macedonia, Ionia, Aſia, and many other provinces, of which Mithridates had poſſeſſed himſelf; and having deprived him of a great part of his fleet, obliged him to confine himſelf within the bounds of his hereditary dominions.* But what is moſt to be admired in Sylla is, that during three years, whilſt the factions of Marius and Cinna had enſlaved Italy, he did not diſſemble his intending to turn his arms againſt them, and yet continued the war he had begun, convinced that it was neceſſary to conquer the foreign enemy before he reduced and puniſhed thoſe at home. He was alſo highly laudable for his conſtancy in not hearkening to any propoſals from Mithridates, who offered him conſiderable aid againſt his enemies, till that prince had accepted the conditions of peace he preſcribed him.

Some days after, Sylla began his march againſt Fimbria, who was encamped under the walls of Thyatria, in Lydia, and having marked out a camp near his, he began his intrenchments. Fimbria's ſoldiers, who came unarmed, ran out to ſalute and embrace thoſe of Sylla, and aſſiſted them with great pleaſure in forming their lines. Fimbria, ſeeing this change in his troops, and fearing Sylla as an irreconcileable enemy

*Vix quidquam in Syllæ operibus clarius duxerim, quam quod, cum per triennium Cinnanæ Marianæ partes Italiam obſiderent, neque illaturum ſe bellum iis diſſimulavit, nec quod erat in manibus omiſit; exiſtimavitque ante frangendum hoſtem, quam ulciſcendum civem; repulſoque externo metu, ubi quod alienum eſſet viciſſet, ſuperaret quod erat domeſticum. *Vell. Paterc.* l. ii. c. 2.

enemy from whom he could expect no mercy, after having attempted in vain to get him aſſaſſinated, killed himſelf.

Sylla condemned Aſia in general to pay twenty thouſand * talents, and beſides that, rifled particulars exceedingly, by abandoning their houſes to the inſolence and rapaciouſneſs of his troops whom he quartered upon them, and who lived at diſcretion as in conquered cities. For he gave orders that every hoſt ſhould pay each ſoldier quartered upon him four † drachmas a day, and entertain at table himſelf, and as many of his friends as he ſhould think fit to invite; that each captain ſhould have fifty ‡ drachmas, and beſides that a robe for the houſe, and another when he went abroad.

(q) After having puniſhed Aſia, he ſet out from Epheſus with all his ſhips, and arrived the third day at Piræeus. Having been initiated in the great myſteries, he took for his own uſe the library of Apellicon, in which were the works of Ariſtotle. That philoſopher, at his death, had left his writings to Theophraſtus, one of his moſt illuſtrious diſciples. The latter had transferred them to Neleus of Scepſis, a city in the neighbourhood of Pergamus in Aſia; after whoſe death thoſe works fell into the hands of his heirs, ignorant perſons, who kept them ſhut up in a cheſt. When the kings of Pergamus began to collect induſtriouſly all ſorts of books for their library, as the city of Scepſis was in their dependance, thoſe heirs, apprehending theſe works would be taken from them, they thought proper to hide them in a vault under ground, where they remained almoſt an hundred and thirty years; till the heirs of Neleus's family, which after ſeveral generations were fallen into extreme poverty, brought them out to ſell to Apellicon, a rich Athenian, who ſought every where after

(q) Plut. in Syll. p. 468. Strab. l. xiii. p. 609. Athen. l. iii. p. 214. Laert. in Theoph.

* *About three millions ſterling.* † *About two ſhillings.* ‡ *About five-and-twenty ſhillings.*

after the moſt curious books for his library. As they were very much damaged by the length of time, and the damp place where they had lain, Apellicon had copies immediately taken of them, in which there were many chaſms; becauſe the originals were either rotted in many places, or worm-eaten, and obliterated. Theſe blanks, words, and letters, were filled up as well as they could be by conjecture, and that in ſome places with ſufficient want of judgement. From hence aroſe the many difficulties in thoſe works, which have ever ſince divided the learned world. Apellicon being dead ſome ſmall time before Sylla's arrival at Athens, he ſeiſed upon his library, and with theſe works of Ariſtotle, which he found in it, enriched his own at Rome. A famous grammarian of thoſe times, named Tyrannion, who lived then at Rome, having a great deſire for theſe works of Ariſtotle, obtained permiſſion from Sylla's librarian to take a copy of them. That copy was communicated to Andronicus the Rhodian, who afterwards imparted it to the publick: The world is obliged to him for the works of that great philoſopher.

SECT. II. *Second war againſt* MITHRIDATES, *under* MURENA, *of only three years duration.* MITHRIDATES *prepares to renew the war. He concludes a treaty with* SERTORIUS. *Third war with* MITHRIDATES. LUCULLUS *conſul ſent againſt him. He obliges him to raiſe the ſiege of Cyzicum, and defeats his troops. He gains a complete victory over him, and reduces him to fly into Pontus. Tragical end of the ſiſters and wives of* MITHRIDATES. *He endeavours to retire to* TIGRANES *his ſon-in-law.* LUCULLUS *regulates the affairs of Aſia.*

(r) SYLLA, on ſetting out for Rome, had left the government of Aſia to Murena, with the two legions that had ſerved under Fimbria, to keep the province in obedience. This Murena is the father A. M. 3921. Ant. J. C. 83.

(r) Appian. p. 213—216.

father of him, for whom Cicero made the fine oration, which bears his name. His ſon at this time made his firſt campaigns under him.

After Sylla's departure, Mithridates, being returned into Pontus, marched his army againſt the people of Colchis and the Boſphorus, who had revolted againſt him. The firſt demanded his ſon Mithridates for their king, and having obtained him, immediately returned to their duty. The king, imagining their conduct to proceed from his ſon's intrigues, took umbrage at it, and having cauſed him to come to him, he ordered him to be bound with chains of gold, and ſoon after put him to death. That ſon had done him great ſervices in the war againſt Fimbria. We ſee here a new inſtance of the jealouſy, which the exceſſive love of power is apt to incite, and to what an height the prince, who abandons himſelf to it, is capable of carrying his ſuſpicions againſt his own blood; always ready to proceed to the moſt fatal extremities, and to ſacrifice whatever is deareſt to him to the ſlighteſt diſtruſt. As for the inhabitants of the Boſphorus, he prepared a great fleet and a numerous army, which gave reaſon to believe, his deſigns were againſt the Romans. He had not indeed reſtored all Cappadocia to Ariobarzanes, but reſerved part of it in his own hands, and he began to ſuſpect Archelaus, as having engaged him in a peace equally ſhameful and diſadvantageous.

When Archelaus perceived it, well knowing the maſter he had to deal with, he took refuge with Murena, and ſollicited him warmly to turn his arms againſt Mithridates. Murena, who paſſionately deſired to obtain the honour of a triumph, ſuffered himſelf to be eaſily perſuaded. He made an irruption into Cappadocia, and made himſelf maſter of Comana, the moſt powerful city of that kingdom. Mithridates ſent ambaſſadors to him to complain of his violating the treaty the Romans had made with him. Murena replied, that he knew of no treaty made with their maſter. There was, in reality, nothing reduced to writing

writing on Sylla's part, the whole having paſſed by verbal agreement. In conſequence he continued to ravage the country, and took up his winter-quarters in it. Mithridates ſent ambaſſadors to Rome, to make his complaints to Sylla and the ſenate.

There came a commiſſioner from Rome, but without a decree of the ſenate, who publickly ordered Murena not to moleſt the king of Pontus. But as they conferred together in private, this was looked upon as a mere colluſion. And indeed Murena perſiſted in ravaging his country. Mithridates therefore took the field, and having paſſed the river Halys, gave Murena battle, defeated him, and obliged him to retire into Phrygia with very great loſs. A. M. 3922. Ant. J. C. 82.

Sylla, who had been appointed dictator, not being able to ſuffer any longer that Mithridates, contrary to the treaty he had granted him, ſhould be diſquieted, ſent Gabinius to Murena to order him in earneſt to deſiſt from making war with that prince, and to reconcile him with Ariobarzanes. He obeyed. Mithridates, having put one of his ſons of only four years old into the hands of Ariobarzanes as an hoſtage, under that pretext retained the cities, in which he had garriſons, promiſing no doubt to reſtore them in time. He then gave a feaſt, in which he promiſed prizes for ſuch as ſhould excel the reſt in drinking, eating, ſinging, and rallying: fit object of emulation! Gabinius was the only one, who did not think proper to enter theſe liſts. Thus ended the ſecond war with Mithridates, which laſted only three years. Murena, at his return to Rome, received the honour of a triumph, to which his pretenſions were but indifferent. A. M. 3923. Ant. J. C. 81.

Mithridates at length reſtored Cappadocia to Ariobarzanes, forced by Sylla, who died the ſame year. But he contrived a ſtratagem to deprive him entirely of it. Tigranes had lately built a great city in Armenia, which, from his own name, he called Tigranocerta. Mithridates perſuaded his ſon-in-law to conquer Cappadocia, and to tranſport the inhabitants A. M. 3926. Ant. J. C. 78.

into the new city, and the other parts of his dominions, that were not well peopled. He did ſo, and took away three hundred thouſand ſouls. From thenceforth, wherever he carried his victorious arms, he acted in the ſame manner for the better peopling of his own dominions.

A. M. 3928. Ant. J. C. 76. (x) The extraordinary reputation of Sertorius, who had given the Romans terrible employment in Spain, made Mithridates conceive the thought of ſending an embaſſy to him, in order to engage him to join forces againſt the common enemy. The flatterers, who compared him to Pyrrhus, and Sertorius to Hannibal, inſinuated, that the Romans, attacked at the ſame time on different ſides, could never be able to oppoſe two ſuch formidable powers, when the moſt able and experienced of generals ſhould act in concert with the greateſt of kings. He therefore ſent ambaſſadors to Spain, with letters and inſtructions for treating with Sertorius, to whom they offered, in his name, a fleet and money to carry on the war, upon condition that he would ſuffer that prince to recover the provinces of Aſia, which the neceſſity of his affairs had reduced him to abandon, by the treaty he had made with Sylla.

As ſoon as thoſe ambaſſadors arrived in Spain, and had opened their commiſſion to Sertorius, he aſſembled his council, which he called *the ſenate.* They were unanimouſly of opinion, to accept that prince's offers with joy, and the rather, becauſe ſo immediate and an effective an aid, as the offered fleet and money, would coſt him only a vain conſent to an enterpriſe, which it did not in any manner depend upon him to prevent. But Sertorius, with a truely Roman greatneſs of ſoul, proteſted, that he would never conſent to any treaty, injurious to the glory or intereſt of his country; and that he could deſire no victory from his own enemies, that was not acquired by juſt and honourable methods. And having made Mithridates's ambaſſadors come into the aſſembly, he de-

(x) Appian. p. 216, 217. Plut. in Sertor. p. 580, 581.

declared to them, that he would ſuffer his maſter to keep Bithynia and Cappadocia, which were accuſtomed to be governed by kings, and of which the Romans could pretend to no juſt right to diſpoſe; but he would never conſent he ſhould have any footing in Aſia Minor, which appertained to the republick, and which he had renounced by a ſolemn treaty.

When this anſwer was related to Mithridates, it ſtruck him with amazement; and he is affirmed to have ſaid to his friends, "What orders may we not "expect from Sertorius, when he ſhall ſit in the "ſenate in the midſt of Rome; who, even now, "confined upon the coaſt of the Atlantick ocean, "dictates bounds to our dominions, and declares "war againſt us, if we undertake any thing againſt "Aſia?" A treaty was however concluded, and ſworn between them to this effect: that Mithridates ſhould have Bithynia and Cappadocia; that Sertorius ſhould ſend his troops for that purpoſe, and one of his captains to command them; and that Mithridates, on his ſide, ſhould pay Sertorius * three thouſand talents down, and give him forty gallies.

The captain ſent by Sertorius into Aſia was a baniſhed ſenator of Rome, who had taken refuge with him, named Marcus Marius, to whom Mithridates paid great honours. For when Marius entered the cities, preceded by the faſces and axes, Mithridates followed him, well ſatisfied with the ſecond place, and with only making the figure of a powerful, but inferior, ally, in this proconſul's company. Such was at that time the Roman greatneſs, that the name alone of that potent republick obſcured the ſplendour and power of the greateſt kings. Mithridates, however, found his intereſt in this conduct. Marius, as authoriſed by the Roman people and ſenate, diſcharged moſt of the cities from paying the exorbitant taxes Sylla had impoſed on them; expreſsly declared, that it was from Sertorius they received,



* *About four hundred and fifty thouſand pounds.*

and to whom they were indebted for that favour. So moderate and politick a conduct opened the gates of the cities to him without the help of arms, and the name of Sertorius alone made more conqueſts than all the forces of Mithridates.

A. M. 3929. Ant. J. C. 75.

(y) Nicomedes, king of Bithynia, died this year, and made the Roman people his heirs. His country became thereby, as I have obſerved elſewhere, a province of the Roman empire. Mithridates immediately formed a reſolution to renew the war againſt them upon this occaſion, and employed the greateſt part of the year in making the neceſſary preparations for carrying it on with vigour. He believed, that after the death of Sylla, and during the troubles with which the republick was agitated, the conjuncture was favourable for re-entering upon the conqueſts he had given up.

(z) Inſtructed by his misfortunes and experience, he baniſhed from his army all armour adorned with gold and jewels, which he began to conſider as the allurement of the victor, and not as the ſtrength of thoſe who wore them. He cauſed ſwords to be forged after the Roman faſhion, with ſolid and weighty bucklers; he collected horſes, rather well made and broke, than magnificently adorned: aſſembled an hundred and twenty thouſand foot, armed and diſciplined like the Roman infantry, and ſixteen thouſand horſe well equipped for ſervice, beſides an hundred chariots armed with long ſcythes, and drawn by four horſes. He alſo fitted out a conſiderable number of gallies, which glittered no longer, as before with gilt pavilions, but were filled with all ſorts of arms offenſive and defenſive, and well provided with ſums of money for the pay and ſubſiſtence of the troops.

Mithridates had begun by ſeiſing Paphlagonia and Bithynia. The province of Aſia, which found itſelf exhauſted by the exaction of the Roman tax-farmers and

(y) Appian. de Bello Mithrid. p. 175.
(z) Plut. in Lucul. p. 469.

and uſurers, to deliver themſelves from their oppreſſion, declared a ſecond time for him. Such was the cauſe of the third Mithridatick war which ſubſiſted almoſt twelve years.

The two conſuls, Lucullus and Cotta, were ſent againſt him, each of them with an army under him. Lucullus had Aſia, Cilicia, and Cappadocia for his province; the other Bithynia and Propontis. A. M. 3930. Ant. J. C. 74.

Whilſt Lucullus was employed in reforming the rapaciouſneſs and violence of the farmers and uſurers, and in reconciling the people of the countries, through which he paſſed, by giving them good hopes for the time to come; Cotta, who was already arrived, thought he had a favourable opportunity, in the abſence of his colleague, to ſignaliſe himſelf by ſome great exploit. He therefore prepared to give Mithridates battle. The more he was told, that Lucullus approached, that he was already in Phrygia, and would ſoon arrive, the greater haſte he made to fight; believing himſelf already aſſured of a triumph, and deſirous of preventing his colleague from having any ſhare in it. But he was beaten by ſea and land. In the naval battle he loſt ſixty of his ſhips with their whole complements; and in that by land he had four thouſand of his beſt troops killed, and was obliged to ſhut himſelf up in the city of Chalcedon, with no other hope of any other relief but what his colleague ſhould think fit to give him. All the officers of his army, enraged at Cotta's raſh and preſumptuous conduct, endeavoured to perſuade Lucullus to enter Pontus, which Mithridates had left without troops, and where he might aſſure himſelf of finding the people inclined to revolt He anſwered generouſly, that he would always eſteem it more glorious to preſerve a Roman citizen, than to poſſeſs himſelf of the whole dominions of an enemy; and without reſentment againſt his colleague, he marched to aſſiſt him with all the ſucceſs he could have hoped. This was the firſt action by which he diſtinguiſhed himſelf, and which ought to do him more honour than the moſt ſplendid victories.

A. M. 3931. Ant. J. C. 73.

(*b*) Mithridates, encouraged by the double advantage he had gained, undertook the ſiege of Cyzicum, a city of Propontis, which ſtrenuouſly ſupported the Roman party in this war. In making himſelf maſter of this place, he would have opened himſelf a paſſage from Bithynia into Aſia Minor, which would have been very advantageous, in giving him an opportunity of carrying the war thither with all poſſible eaſe and ſecurity. It was for this reaſon he deſired to take it. In order to ſucceed, he inveſted it by land with three hundred thouſand men, divided in ten camps; and by ſea with four hundred ſhips. Lucullus ſoon followed him thither, and began, by ſeiſing a poſt upon an eminence of the laſt importance to him, becauſe it facilitated his receiving convoys, and gave him the means of cutting off the enemy's proviſions. He had only thirty thouſand foot, and two thouſand five hundred horſe. The ſuperiority of the enemy in number, far from diſmaying, encouraged him; for he was convinced, that ſo innumerable a multitude would ſoon be in want of proviſions. Hence, in haranguing his troops, he promiſed them in a few days a victory, that would not coſt them a ſingle drop of blood. It was in that he placed his glory; for the lives of the ſoldiers were dear to him.

The ſiege was long, and carried on with extreme vigour. Mithridates battered the place on all ſides with innumerable machines. The defence was no leſs vigorous. The beſieged did prodigies of valour, and employed all means, that the moſt induſtrious capacity could invent, to repulſe the enemy's attacks, either by burning their machines, or rendering them uſeleſs by a thouſand obſtacles they oppoſed to them. What inſpired them with ſo much courage, was their exceeding confidence in Lucullus, who had let them know, that if they continued to defend themſelves with the ſame valour, the place would not be taken.

Lucullus was indeed ſo well poſted, that without coming

(*b*) Plut. in Lucul. p. 497—499. Appian. p. 219—222.

coming to a general action, which he always carefully avoided, he made Mithridates's army ſuffer infinitely, by intercepting his convoys, charging his foraging parties with advantage, and beating the detachments he ſent out from time to time. In a word, he knew ſo well how to improve all occaſions that offered, he weakened the army of the beſiegers ſo much, and uſed ſuch addreſs in cutting off their proviſions, having ſhut up all avenues by which they might be ſupplied, that he reduced them to extreme famine. The ſoldiers could find no other food but the herbage, and ſome went ſo far, as to ſupport themſelves upon human fleſh. Mithridates*, who paſſed for the moſt artful captain of his times, in deſpair, that a general, who could not have had much experience, ſhould ſo often put the change upon him by falſe marches, and feigned movements, and had defeated him without drawing his ſword, was at length obliged to raiſe the ſiege ſhamefully, after having ſpent almoſt two years before the place. He fled by ſea, and his lieutenants retired with his army by land to Nicomedia. Lucullus purſued them, and having come up with them near the Granicus, he killed twenty thouſand of them upon the ſpot, and took an infinite number of priſoners. It was ſaid, that in this war there periſhed almoſt three hundred thouſand men, ſoldiers, and ſervants, with other followers of the army. A. M. 3933. Ant. J. C. 71.

After this new ſucceſs, Lucullus returned to Cyzicum, entered the city, and after having enjoyed for ſome days the pleaſure of having preſerved it, and the honours conſequential of that ſucceſs, he made a ſwift tour upon the coaſts of the Helleſpont, to collect ſhips and form a fleet.



* Cum totius impetus belli ad Cyzicenorum mœnia conſtitiſſet, eamque urbem ſibi Mithridates Aſiæ januam fore putaviſſet, qua effracta & revulſa tota pateret provincia: perfecta ab Lucullo hæc ſunt omnia, ut urbs fideliſſimorum ſociorum defenderetur, ut omnes copiæ regis diuturnitate obſidionis conſumerentur. *Cic. in Orat. pro Mur.* n. 33.

Mithridates, after having raiſed the ſiege of Cyzicum, repaired to Nicomedia, from whence he paſſed by ſea into Pontus. He left part of his fleet, and ten thouſand men of his beſt troops, in the Helleſpont, under three of his moſt able generals. Lucullus, with the Roman fleet *, beat them twice; the firſt time at Tenedos, and the other at Lemnos, when the enemy thought of nothing leſs than making ſail for Italy, and of alarming and plundering the coaſts of Rome itſelf. He killed almoſt all their men in theſe two engagements; and in the laſt took M. Marius the Roman ſenator, whom Sertorius had ſent from Spain to the aid of Mithridates. Lucullus ordered him to be put to death, becauſe it was not conſiſtent with the Roman dignity, that a ſenator of Rome ſhould be led in triumph. One of the two others poiſoned himſelf, and the third was reſerved for the triumph. After having cleared the coaſts by theſe two victories, Lucullus turned his arms towards the continent: reduced Bithynia firſt, then Paphlagonia; marched afterwards into Pontus, and carried the war into the heart of Mithridates's dominions.

He ſuffered at firſt ſo great a want of proviſions in this expedition, that he was obliged to make thirty thouſand Galatians follow the army, each with a quantity of wheat upon his ſhoulders. But upon his advancing into the country, and ſubjecting the cities and provinces, he found ſuch abundance of all things, that an ox ſold for † only one drachma, and a ſlave for no more than four.

Mithridates had ſuffered almoſt as much by the tempeſt, in his paſſage on the Euxine ſea, as in the campaign wherein he had been treated ſo roughly. He

* Ab eodem imperatore claſſem magnam & ornatam, quæ ducibus Sertorianis ad Italiam ſtudio inflammato raperetur, ſuperatam eſſe atque depreſſam. *Cic pro lege Manil.* n. 21.

Quid? Iliam pugnam navalem ad Tenedem, cum tanto concurſu acerrimis ducibus, hoſtium claſſis Italiam ſpe atque animis inflata peteret, mediocri certamine & parva dimicatione commiſſam arbitraris? *Id pro Muræna.* n. 33

† *Ten pence.*

He loſt in it almoſt all the remainder of his fleet, and the troops he had brought thither for the defence of his ancient dominions. When Lucullus arrived, he was making new levies with the utmoſt expedition, to defend himſelf againſt that invaſion, which he had foreſeen.

Lucullus, upon arriving in Pontus, without loſs of time beſieged Amiſus and Eupatoria, two of the principal cities in the country, very near each other, The latter, which had been very lately built, was called Rupatoria, from the ſurname of Eupator, given to Mithridates; this place was his uſual reſidence, and he deſigned to make it the capital of his dominions. Not contented with theſe two ſieges at once, he ſent a detachment of his army to form that of Themiſcyra, upon the river Thermoden, which place was not leſs conſiderable than the two others.

The officers of Lucullus's army complained, that their general amuſed himſelf too long in ſieges, which were not worth his trouble, and that in the mean time he gave Mithridates opportunity to augment his army, and gather ſtrength. To which he anſwered in his juſtification: "That is directly what I want. "I act in this manner for no other purpoſe, in order "that our enemy may take new courage, and aſ- "ſemble ſo numerous an army, as may embolden "him to expect us in the field, and fly no longer "before us. Do you not obſerve, that he has be- "hind him immenſe ſolitudes and infinite deſerts, in "which it will be impoſſible for us either to come "up with or purſue him? Armenia is but a few "days march from theſe deſerts. There Tigranes "keeps his court, that king of kings, whoſe power "is ſo great, that he ſubdues the Parthians, tranſ- "ports whole cities of Greeks into the heart of "Media, has made himſelf maſter of Syria and "Paleſtine, extirminated the kings deſcended from "Seleucus, and carried their wives and daughters "into captivity. This powerful prince is the ally "and ſon-in-law of Mithridates. Do you think,

"when

" when he has him in his palace as a ſuppliant, " that he will abandon him, and not make war " againſt us? Hence in haſtening to drive away " Mithridates, we ſhall be in great danger of draw- " ing Tigranes upon our hands, who has long ſought " for pretexts for declaring againſt us, and who can " never find one more ſpecious, legitimate, and " honourable, than that of aſſiſting his father-in-law, " and a king reduced to the laſt extremity. Why " therefore ſhould we ſerve Mithridates againſt our- " ſelves, or ſhow him to whom he ſhould have re- " courſe for the means of ſupporting the war with " us, by puſhing him, againſt his will, and at a time " perhaps when he looks upon ſuch a ſtep as un- " worthy his valour and greatneſs, into the arms and " protection of Tigranes? Is it not infinitely better, " by giving him time to take courage, and ſtrengthen " himſelf with his own forces, to have only upon " our hands the troops of Colchis, the Tibarenians, " and Cappadocians, whom we have ſo often defeat- " ed, than to expoſe ourſelves to have the additi- " onal force of the Armenians and Medes to contend " with?"

Whilſt the Romans attacked the three places we have mentioned, Mithridates, who had already formed a new army, took the field very early in the ſpring. Lucullus left the command of the ſieges of Amiſus and Eupatoria to Murena, the ſon of him we have ſpoken of before, whom Cicero repreſents in a very favourable light. * " He went into Aſia, a province " abounding with riches and pleaſures, where he left " behind no traces either of avarice or luxury. He " behaved in ſuch a manner in this important war, " that he did many great actions without the gene- " ral, the general none without him." Lucullus marched againſt Mithridates, who lay encamped in the

* Aſiam iſtam refertam & eandem delicatam, ſic obiit, ut in ea neque avaritiæ, neque luxuriæ veſtigium reliquerit. Maximo in bello ſic eſt verſatus, ut hic multas res & magnas ſine imperatore geſſerit, nullam ſine hoc imperator. *Cic. pro Muræna.* n. 20.

the plains of Cabiræ. The latter had the advantage in two actions, but was entirely defeated in the third, and obliged to fly without either ſervant or equerry to attend him, or a ſingle horſe of his ſtable. It was not till very late, that one of his eunuchs, ſeeing him on foot in the midſt of the flying crowd, got from his horſe and gave it him. The Romans were ſo near him, that they almoſt had him in their hands, and it was owing entirely to themſelves that they did not take him. The avarice only of the ſoldiers loſt them a prey, which they had purſued ſo long, through ſo many toils, dangers, and battles, and deprived Lucullus of the ſole reward of all his victories. Mithridates, ſays * Cicero, artfully imitated the manner in which Medea eſcaped the purſuit of her father, in the ſame kingdom of Pontus. That princeſs is ſaid to have cut the body of Abſyrtus her brother in pieces, and to have ſcattered his limbs in the places through which her father purſued her; in order that his care in taking up thoſe diſperſed members, and the grief ſo ſad a ſpectacle would give him, might ſtop the rapidity of his purſuit. Mithridates, in like manner, as he fled, left upon the way a great quantity of gold, ſilver, and precious effects, which had either deſcended to him from his anceſtors, or had been amaſſed by himſelf in the preceding war: and whilſt the ſoldiers employed themſelves in gathering thoſe treaſures too attentively, the king eſcaped their hands. So that the father of Medea was ſtopped in his purſuit by ſorrow, but the Romans by joy.

After this defeat of the enemy, Lucullus took the city

* Ex ſuo regno ſic Mithridates profugit, ut ex eodem Ponto Medea illa quondam profugiſſe dicitur: quam prædicant, in fuga, fratris ſui membra in iis locis, qua ſe parens perſequeretur, diſſipaviſſe, ut eorum collectio diſperſa, mœrorque patrius celeritatem perſequendi retardaret. Sic Mithridates fugiens maximam vim auri atque argenti, pulcherrimarumque rerum omnium, quas & à majoribus acceperat, & ipſe bello ſuperiore ex totâ Aſiâ direptas in ſuum regnum congeſſerat in Ponto, omnem reliquit. Hæc dum noſtri colligunt omnia diligentius, rex ipſe è manibus effugit. Ita illum in perſequendi ſtudio mœror, hos lætitia retardavit. *Cic. de leg. Manil.* n. 22.

city of Cabiræ, with ſeveral other places and caſtles, in which he found great riches. He found alſo the priſons full of Greeks, and princes nearly related to the king, who were confined in them. As thoſe unhappy perſons had long given themſelves over for dead, the liberty they received from Lucullus ſeemed leſs a deliverance, than new life to them. In one of theſe caſtles a ſiſter of the king's, named Nyſſa, was alſo taken, which was a great inſtance of her good fortune. For the other ſiſters of that prince, with his wives, who had been ſent farther from the danger, and who believed themſelves in ſafety and repoſe, all died miſerably, Mithridates on his flight having ſent them orders to die by Bacchidas the eunuch.

Among the other ſiſters of the king were Roxana and Statira, both unmarried, and about forty years of age, with two of his wives, Berenice and Monima, both of Ionia. All Greece ſpoke much of the latter, whom they admired more for her wiſdom than beauty, though exquiſite. The king having fallen deſperately in love with her, had forgot nothing that might incline her to favour his paſſion: He ſent her at once fifteen thouſand pieces of gold. She was always averſe to him, and refuſed his preſents, till he gave her the quality of wife and queen, and ſent her the royal tiara or diadem, an eſſential ceremony in the marriage of the kings of thoſe nations. Nor did ſhe then comply without extreme regret, and in compliance with her family, dazzled with the ſplendour of a crown, and the power of Mithridates, who was at that time victorious, and at the height of his glory. From her marriage to the inſtant of which we are now ſpeaking, that unfortunate princeſs had paſſed her life in continual ſadneſs and affliction, lamenting her fatal beauty, which inſtead of a huſband had given her a maſter, and of procuring her an honourable abode, and the endearments of conjugal ſociety, had confined her in a cloſe priſon, under a guard of Barbarians; where far removed from the delight-

delightful regions of Greece, ſhe had only enjoyed a dream of the happineſs with which ſhe had been flattered, and had really loſt that ſolid and eſſential good ſhe poſſeſſed in her own beloved country.

When Bacchidas arrived, and had ſignified to the princeſſes the order of Mithridates, which favoured them no further, than to leave them at liberty to chooſe the kind of death they ſhould think moſt gentle and immediate; Monima, taking the diadem from her head, tied it round her neck, and hung herſelf up by it. But that wreath not being ſtrong enough, and breaking, ſhe cried out; *Ah fatal trifle, you might at leaſt do me this mournful office!* Then throwing it away with indignation, ſhe preſented her neck to Bacchidas.

As for Berenice ſhe took a cup of poiſon, and as ſhe was going to drink it, her mother, who was preſent, deſired to ſhare it with her. They accordingly drank both together. The half of that cup ſufficed to carry off the mother, worn out and feeble with age; but was not enough to ſurmount the ſtrength and youth of Berenice. That princeſs ſtruggled long with death in the moſt violent agonies, till Bacchidas, tired with waiting the effects of the poiſon, ordered her to be ſtrangled

Of the two ſiſters, Roxana is ſaid to have ſwallowed poiſon, venting a thouſand reproaches and imprecations againſt Mithridates. Statira, on the contrary, was pleaſed with her brother, and thanked him, that being in ſo great danger for his own perſon, he had not forgot them, and taken care to ſupply them with the means of dying free, and of withdrawing from the indignities their enemies might elſe have made them ſuffer.

Their deaths extremely afflicted Lucullus, who was of a gentle and humane diſpoſition. He continued his march in purſuit of Mithridates: but haveing received advice, that he was four days journey before him, and had taken the rout of Armenia, to retire to his ſon-in-law, he returned directly, and after having

having ſubjected ſome countries, and taken ſome cities in the neighbourhood, he ſent Appius Clodius to Tigranes to demand Mithridates of him; and in the mean time returned againſt Amiſus, which place was not yet taken. Callimachus, who commanded in it, and was the moſt able engineer of his times, had alone prolonged the ſiege. When he ſaw that he could hold out no longer, he ſet fire to the city, and eſcaped in a ſhip that waited for him. Lucullus did his utmoſt to extinguiſh the flames but in vain; and, to increaſe his concern, ſaw himſelf obliged to abandon the city to be plundered by the ſoldiers, from whom the place had as much to fear as from the flames themſelves. His troops were inſatiable for booty, and he not capable of reſtraining them. A rain then happening to fall preſerved a great number of buildings, and Lucullus, before his departure, cauſed thoſe which had been burnt to be rebuilt. This city was an ancient colony of the Athenians. Such of the Athenians, during Ariſtion's being maſter of Athens, as deſired to fly from his tyranny, had retired thither, and enjoyed there the ſame rights and privileges with the natives.

Lucullus, when he left Amiſus, directed his march towards the cities of Aſia, whom the avarice and cruelty of the uſurers and tax-farmers, held under the moſt dreadful oppreſſion; inſomuch that thoſe poor people were obliged to ſell their children of both ſexes, and even ſet up to auction the paintings and ſtatues conſecrated to the gods. And when theſe would not ſuffice to pay the duties, taxes, and intereſt unpaid, they were given up without mercy to their creditors, and often expoſed to ſuch barbarous tortures, that ſlavery, in compariſon with their miſeries, ſeemed a kind of redreſs and tranquillity to them.

Theſe immenſe debts of the province aroſe from the fine of twenty thouſand * talents, which Sylla had impoſed on it. They had already paid the ſum twice over: but thoſe inſatiable uſurers, by heaping intereſt

* *About three millions ſterling*

intereſt upon intereſt, had run it up to an hundred and twenty thouſand * talents; ſo that they ſtill owed tripple the ſums they had already paid.

Tacitus † had reaſon to ſay, that uſury was one of the moſt ancient evils of the Roman commonwealth, and the moſt frequent cauſe of ſedition; but at the time we now ſpeak of, it was carried to an exceſs not eaſy to comprehend.

The intereſt of money amongſt the Romans was paid every month, and was one *per cent.* hence it was called *uſura centemiſa*, or *unciarum fœnis*; becauſe in reckoning the twelve months, twelve *per cent.* was paid: *Unica* is the twelfth part of an whole.

(*e*) The ‡ law of the twelve tables prohibited the raiſing intereſt to above twelve *per cent.* This law was revived by the two tribunes of the people, in the 396th year of Rome.

(*f*) Ten years after, intereſt was reduced to half that ſum, in the 406th year of Rome; *ſemiunciarum fœnus.*

(*g*) At length in the 411th year of Rome, all intereſt was prohibited by decree: *Ne fœnerari liceret.*

All theſe decrees were ineffectual. § Avarice was always too ſtrong for the laws: and whatever regulations were made to ſuppreſs it, either in the time of the republick, or under the emperors, it always found means to elude them. Nor has it paid more regard to the laws of the church, which has never entered into any compoſition in this point, and ſeverely condemns all uſury, even the moſt moderate; becauſe, God having forbade any, ſhe never believed ſhe had a right to permit it in the leaſt. It is remarkable, that uſury has always occaſioned the ruin of the ſtates where it has been tolerated; and it was this diſorder

(*e*) Tacit. Annal. l. vi. c. 16. Liv. l. vii. n. 16.

(*f*) Liv. l. vii. n. 27. (*g*) Ibid. n. 42.

* *About eighteen millions ſterling.*

† Sanè vetus urbi fœnebre malum, & ſeditionem diſcordiarumque creberrima cauſa. *Tacit Annal.* l. vi. c. 16.

‡ Nequis unciario fœnore amplius exerceto.

§ Multis plebiſcitis obviam itant fraudibus: quæ toties repreſſæ miras per artes rurſum oribantur. *Tacit.* ibid.

order which contributed very much to ſubvert the conſtitution of the Roman commonwealth, and gave birth to the greateſt calamities in all the provinces of that empire.

Lucullus, at this time, applied himſelf in giving the provinces of Aſia ſome relaxation; which he could only effect by putting a ſtop to the injuſtice and cruelty of the uſurers and tax-farmers. The latter, finding themſelves deprived by Lucullus of the immenſe gain they made, raiſed a great outcry, as if they had been exceſſively injured, and by the force of money animated many orators againſt him; particularly confiding in having moſt of thoſe who governed the republick in their debt, which gave them a very extenſive and almoſt unbounded influence. But Lucullus deſpiſed their clamours with a conſtancy the more admirable, from its being very uncommon.

SECT. III. LUCULLUS *cauſes war to be declared with* TIGRANES, *and marches againſt him. Vanity and ridiculous ſelf-ſufficiency of that prince. He loſes a great battle.* LUCULLUS *takes Tigranocerta, capital of Armenia. He gains a ſecond victory over the joint forces of* TIGRANES *and* MITHRIDATES. *Mutiny and revolt in the army of* LUCULLUS.

A. M. 3943. Ant. J. C. 70. (*b*) TIGRANES, to whom Lucullus had ſent an ambaſſador, though of no great power in the beginning of his reign, had enlarged it ſo much by a ſeries of ſucceſſes, of which there are few examples, that he was commonly ſurnamed the *king of kings*. After having overthrown, and almoſt ruined the family of the kings, ſucceſſors of Seleucus the Great; after having very often humbled the pride of the Parthians, tranſported whole cities of Greeks into Media, conquered all Syria and Paleſtine, and given laws to the Arabians, called Scænites; he reigned with an authority reſpected by all princes of Aſia. The people paid him honours, after the manner of the

(*b*) Plut. in Lucul. p. 504—512. Memn. c. xlviii—lvii. Appian. in Mithrid. p. 228—232.

the Eaſt, even to adoration. His pride was inflamed and ſupported by the immenſe riches he poſſeſſed, by the exceſſive and continual praiſes of his flatterers, and by a proſperity that had never known any irruption.

Appius Clodius was introduced to an audience of this prince, who appeared with all the ſplendour he could diſplay, in order to give the ambaſſador an higher idea of the royal dignity; who, on his ſide, uniting the haughtineſs of his diſpoſition with that which particularly characteriſed his republick, perfectly ſupported the dignity of a Roman ambaſſador.

After having explained, in a few words, the ſubjects of complaint which the Romans had againſt Mithridates, and that prince's breach of faith in breaking the peace, without ſo much as attempting to give any reaſon or colour for it; he told Tigranes, that he came to demand his being delivered up to him, as due by every ſort of title to Lucullus's triumph; that he did not believe, as a friend to the Romans, which he had been till then, that he would make any difficulty in giving up Mithridates; and that in caſe of his refuſal, he was inſtructed to declare war againſt him.

That prince, who had never been contradicted, and who knew no other law nor rule but his own will and pleaſure, was extremely offended at this Roman freedom. But he was much more ſo with Lucullus's letter, when it was delivered to him. The title of king only, which it gave him, did not ſatisfy him. He had aſſumed that of *king of kings*, of which he was very fond, and had carried his pride in that reſpect ſo far, as to cauſe himſelf to be ſerved by crowned heads. He never appeared in publick without having four kings attending him; two on foot, on each ſide of his horſe, when he went abroad: at table, in his chamber, in ſhort, every where he had always ſome of them to do the loweſt offices for him; but eſpecially when he gave audience to ambaſſadors. For at that time, to give ſtrangers a greater idea of his glory and power, he made them all ſtand in two ranks, one on each ſide

of his throne, where they appeared in the habit and poſture of common ſlaves. A pride ſo full of abſurdity offends all the world. One more refined ſhocks leſs, though much the ſame at bottom.

It is not ſurpriſing that a prince of this character ſhould bear the manner in which Clodius ſpoke to him with impatience. It was the firſt free and ſincere ſpeech he had heard, during the five-and-twenty years he had governed his ſubjects, or rather tyrannized over them with exceſſive inſolence. He anſwered, that Mithridates was the father of Cleopatra his wife; that the union between them was of too ſtrict a nature to admit his delivering him up for the triumph of Lucullus; and that if the Romans were unjuſt enough to make war againſt him, he knew how to defend himſelf, and to make them repent it. To expreſs his reſentment by his anſwer, he directed it only to Lucullus, without adding the uſual title of Imperator, or any others commonly given to the Roman generals.

Lucullus, when Clodius reported his commiſſion, and that war had been declared againſt Tigranes, returned with the utmoſt diligence into Pontus to begin it. The enterpriſe ſeemed raſh, and the terrible power of the king aſtoniſhed all thoſe, who relied leſs upon the valour of the troops and the conduct of the general, than upon a multitude of ſoldiers. After having made himſelf maſter of Sinobe, he gave that place its liberty, as he did alſo to Amiſus, and made them both free and independent cities. (*i*) Cotta did not treat Heraclea, which he took after a long ſiege by treachery, in the ſame manner. He enriched himſelf out of its ſpoils, treated the inhabitants with exceſſive cruelty, and burnt almoſt the whole city. On his return to Rome, he was at firſt well received by the ſenate, and honoured with the ſurname of Ponticus, upon account of taking that place. But ſoon after, when the Heracleans had laid their complaints before the ſenate, and repreſented, in a manner capable of moving

(*i*) Memn. c. li—lxi.

moving the hardeſt hearts, the miſeries Cotta's avarice and cruelty had made them ſuffer, the ſenate contented themſelves with depriving him of the *latus clavus*, which was the robe worn by the ſenators, a puniſhment in no wiſe proportioned to the crying exceſſes proved upon him.

Lucullus left Sornatius, one of his generals, in Pontus, with ſix thouſand men, and marched with the reſt, which amounted only to twelve thouſand foot, and three thouſand horſe, through Cappadocia to the Euphrates. He paſſed that river in the midſt of winter, and afterwards the Tigris, and came before Tigranocerta, which was at ſome ſmall diſtance, to attack Tigranes in his capital, where he had lately arrived from Syria. Nobody dared ſpeak to that prince of Lucullus and his march, after his cruel treatment of the perſon who brought him the firſt news of it, whom he put to death in reward for ſo important a ſervice. He liſtened to nothing but the diſcourſes of flatterers, who told him Lucullus muſt be a great captain, if he only dared wait for him at Epheſus, and did not betake himſelf to flight and abandon Aſia, when he ſaw the many thouſands, of which his army was compoſed. So true it is, ſays Plutarch, that as all conſtitutions are not capable of bearing much wine, all minds are not ſuited to bearing great fortunes without loſs of reaſon and infatuation.

Tigranes, at firſt, had not deigned ſo much as to ſee or ſpeak to Mithridates, though his father-in-law, but treated him with the utmoſt contempt and arrogance, kept him at a diſtance. and placed a guard over him as a priſoner of ſtate, in marſhy unwholeſome places. But after Clodius's embaſſy, he had ordered him to be brought to court with all poſſible honours and marks of reſpect. In a private converſation which they had together without witneſſes, they cured themſelves of their mutual ſuſpicions, to the great misfortune of their friends, upon whom they caſt all the blame. A. M. 3935. Ant. J. C. 69.

In the number of thoſe unfortunates was Metrodorus, of the city of Scepſis, a man of extraordinary merit, who had ſo much credit with the king, that he was called the king's father. That prince had ſent him on an embaſſy to Tigranes, to deſire aid againſt the Romans. When he had explained the occaſion of his journey, Tigranes aſked him; *And for you, Metrodorus, what would you adviſe me to do, in regard to your maſter's demands?* Upon which Metrodorus replied, out of an exceſs of ill-timed ſincerity: *As an ambaſſador, I adviſe you to do what Mithridates demands of you; but as your counſel, not to do it.* This was a criminal prevarication, and a kind of treaſon. It coſt him his life, when Mithridates had been apprized of it by Tigranes.

Lucullus continually advanced againſt that prince, and was already in a manner at the gates of his palace, without his either knowing or believing any thing of the matter, ſo much was he blinded by his preſumption. Mithrobarzanes, one of his favourites, ventured to carry him that news. The reward he had for it, was to be charged with a commiſſion, to go immediately with ſome troops, and bring Lucullus priſoner; as if the queſtion had been only to arreſt one of the king's ſubjects. The favourite, with the greateſt part of the troops given him, loſt their lives, in endeavouring to execute that dangerous commiſſion. This ill ſucceſs opened the eyes of Tigranes, and made him recover from his infatuation. Mithridates had been ſent back into Pontus with ten thouſand horſe, to raiſe troops there, and to return and join Tigranes, in caſe Lucullus entered Armenia. For himſelf, he had choſen to continue at Tigranocerta, in order to give the neceſſary orders for raiſing troops throughout his whole dominions. After this check he began to be afraid of Lucullus, quitted Tigranocerta, retired to mount Taurus, and gave orders for all his troops to repair thither to him.

Lucullus marched directly to Tigranocerta, took up his quarters around the place, and formed the ſiege

ſiege of it. This city was full of all ſorts of riches; the inhabitants of all orders and conditions having emulated each other in contributing to its embelliſhment and magnificence, in order to make their court to the king: for this reaſon Lucullus preſſed the ſiege with the utmoſt vigour; believing that Tigranes would never ſuffer it to be taken, and that he would come on in a tranſport of fury to offer him battle, and oblige him to raiſe the ſiege. And he was not miſtaken in his conjecture. Mithridates ſent every day couriers to Tigranes, and wrote him letters, to adviſe him, in the ſtrongeſt terms, not to hazard a battle, and only to make uſe of his cavalry in cutting off Lucullus's proviſions. Taxilus himſelf was ſent by him with the ſame inſtructions, who ſtaying with him in his camp, made earneſt inſtances to him, every day, not to attack the Roman armies, as they were excellently diſciplined, veteran ſoldiers, and almoſt invincible.

At firſt he hearkened to this advice with patience enough. But when his troops, conſiſting of a great number of different nations, were aſſembled, not only the king's feaſts, but his councils reſounded with nothing but vain bravadoes, full of inſolence, pride, and barbarian menaces. Taxilus was in danger of being killed, for having ventured to oppoſe the advice of thoſe who were for a battle; and Mithridates himſelf was openly accuſed of oppoſing it, only out of envy, to deprive his ſon-in-law of the glory of ſo great a ſucceſs.

In this conceit Tigranes determined to wait no longer, leſt Mithridates ſhould arrive, and ſhare with him in the honour of the victory. He therefore marched with all his forces, telling his friends, that he was only ſorry on one account, and that was, his having to do with Lucullus alone, and not with all the Roman generals together. He meaſured his hopes of ſucceſs by the number of his troops. He had about twenty thouſand archers and ſlingers, fifty-five thouſand horſe, ſeventeen thouſand of which were heavy-armed cavalry, an hundred and fifty thouſand foot, divided into companies and battalions, beſides workmen to clear

the roads, build bridges, cleanſe and turn the courſe of rivers, with other labourers neceſſary in armies, to the number of thirty-five thouſand, who, drawn up in battle behind the combatants, made the army appear ſtill more numerous, and augmented its force and his confidence.

When he had paſſed mount Taurus, and all his troops appeared together in the plains, the ſight alone of his army was ſufficient to ſtrike terrour into the moſt daring enemy. Lucullus, always intrepid, divided his troops. He left Murena with ſix thouſand foot before the place, and with all the reſt of his infantry, conſiſting of twenty-four cohorts, which together did not amount to more than ten or twelve thouſand men, all his horſe, and about a thouſand archers and ſlingers, marched againſt Tigranes, and encamped in the plain, with a large river in his front.

This handful of men made Tigranes laugh, and ſupplied his flatterers with great matter for pleaſantry. Some openly jeſted upon them; others, by way of diverſion, drew lots for their ſpoils; and of all Tigranes's generals, and the kings in his army, there was not one who did not intreat him to give the charge of that affair to him alone, and content himſelf with being only a ſpectator of the action. Tigranes himſelf, to appear agreeable, and a fine rallier, uſed an expreſſion, which has been much admired; *If they come as ambaſſadors, they are a great many; but if as enemies, very few.* Thus the firſt day paſſed in jeſting and raillery.

The next morning, at ſun-riſe, Lucullus made his army march out of their entrenchments. That of the Barbarians was on the other ſide of the river towards the Eaſt, and the river ran in ſuch a manner, that a little below it turned off to the left towards the Weſt, where it was eaſily fordable. Lucullus, in leading his army to this ford, inclined alſo to the left, towards the lower part of the river, haſtening his march. Tigranes, who ſaw him, believed he fled; and calling for Taxilus, told him with a contemptuous laugh — *Do you ſee thoſe invincible Roman legions?*

*gions? You ſee they can run away.* Taxilus replied, *I wiſh your majeſty's good fortune may this day do a miracle in your favour; but the arms and march of thoſe legions do not argue people running away.*

Taxilus was ſtill ſpeaking, when he ſaw the eagle of the firſt legions move on a ſudden to the right about, by the command of Lucullus, followed by all the cohorts, in order to paſs the river. Tigranes, recovering then with difficulty, like one that had been long drunk, cried out two or three times, *How! Are thoſe people coming to us?* They came on ſo faſt, that his numerous troops did not poſt themſelves, nor draw up in battle without abundance of diſorder and confuſion. Tigranes placed himſelf in the centre; gave the left wing to the king of the Adiabenians, and the right to the king of the Medes. The greateſt part of the heavy-armed horſe covered the front of the right wing.

As Lucullus was preparing to paſs the river, ſome of his general-officers adviſed him not to engage upon that day, becauſe one of thoſe unfortunate days, which the Romans called *black days.* For it was the ſame upon which the army of * Cepio had been defeated in the battle with the Cimbri. Lucullus made them this anſwer, which afterwards became ſo famous: *And for me, I will make this an happy day for the Romans.* It was the ſixth day of October (the day before the nones of October.)

After having made that reply, and exhorted them not be diſcouraged, he paſſed the river, and marched foremoſt againſt the enemy. He was armed with a ſteel cuiraſs, made in the form of ſcales, which glittered ſurpriſingly, under which was his coat of arms bordered all around with a fringe. He carried his naked ſword ſhining in his hand, to intimate to his troops, that it was neceſſary to join an enemy immediately, accuſtomed to fight only at a diſtance with their arrows; and to deprive them, by the ſwiftneſs



* *The Greek text ſays,* the army of Scipio, *which Monſieur de Thou has juſtly corrected in the margin of his Plutarch,* the army of Cepio.

and impetuoſity of the attack, of the ſpace required for the uſe of them.

Perceiving that the heavy-armed cavalry, upon whom the enemy very much relied, were drawn up at the foot of a little hill, of which the ſummit was flat and level, and the declivity of not above five hundred paces, neither much broken, nor very difficult, he ſaw at firſt what view he had to make of it. He commanded his Thracian and Galatian horſe to charge that body of the enemy's cavalry in flank, with orders only to turn aſide their lances with their ſwords. For the principal, or rather whole force of thoſe heavy-armed horſe, conſiſted in their lances, which when they had not room to uſe, they could do nothing either againſt the enemy, or for themſelves; their arms being ſo heavy, ſtiff, and cumberſome, that they could not turn themſelves, and were almoſt immoveable.

Whilſt his cavalry marched to execute his orders, he took two cohorts of foot, and went to gain the eminence. The infantry followed courageouſly, excited by the example of their general, whom they ſaw marching foremoſt on foot, and aſcending the hill. When he was at the top, he ſhowed himſelf from the higheſt part of it, and ſeeing from thence the whole order of the enemy's battle, he cried out, *The victory is ours, fellow-ſoldiers, the victory is ours.* At the ſame time, with his two cohorts he advanced againſt that heavy-armed cavalry, and ordered his troops not to make uſe of their pikes, but join thoſe horſe ſword in hand, and ſtrike upon their legs and thighs, which were the only unarmed parts about them. But his ſoldiers had not ſo much trouble with them. That cavalry did not ſtay their coming on, but ſhamefully took to flight; and howling as they fled, fell with their heavy unwieldy horſes into the ranks of their foot, without joining battle at all, or ſo much as making a ſingle thruſt with their lances. The ſlaughter did not begin until they began to fly, or rather to endeavour it; for they could not do ſo, being prevented

vented by their own battalions, whoſe ranks were ſo cloſe and deep, that they could not break their way through them. Tigranes, that king ſo lofty and brave in words, had taken to flight from the beginning with a few followers; and ſeeing his ſon, the companion of his fortune, he took off his diadem, weeping, and giving it him, exhorted him to ſave himſelf as well as he could by another route. That young prince was afraid to put the diadem upon his head, which would have been a dangerous ornament at ſuch a time, and gave it into the hands of one of the moſt faithful of his ſervants, who was taken a moment after, and carried to Lucullus.

It is ſaid, that in this defeat more than an hundred thouſand of the enemy's foot periſhed, and that very few of their horſe eſcaped: on the ſide of the Romans only five were killed, and an hundred wounded. They had never engaged in a pitched battle ſo great a number of enemies with ſo few troops; for the victors did not amount to the twentieth part of the vanquiſhed. The greateſt and moſt able Roman generals, who had ſeen moſt wars and battles, gave Lucullus particular praiſes, for having defeated two of the greateſt and moſt powerful kings in the world, by two entirely different methods, delay and expedition. For by protraction and ſpinning out the war, he exhauſted Mithridates when he was ſtrongeſt and moſt formidable; and ruined Tigranes, by making haſte, and not giving him time to look about him. It has been remarked, that few captains have known how, like him, to make ſlowneſs active, and haſte ſure.

It was this latter conduct that prevented Mithridates from being preſent in the battle. He imagined Lucullus would uſe the ſame precaution and protraction againſt Tigranes, as he had done againſt himſelf. So that he marched but ſlowly, and by ſmall days journies to join Tigranes. But having met ſome Armenians upon the way, who fled with the utmoſt terror and conſternation, he ſuſpected what had happened; and afterwards meeting a much greater number, was fully informed

informed of the defeat, and went in ſearch of Tigranes. He found him at length, abandoned by all the world, and in a very deplorable condition. Far from returning his ungenerous treatment, and inſulting Tigranes in his misfortunes, as he had done him, he quitted his horſe, lamented their common diſgraces, gave him the guard that attended, and the officers who ſerved him, conſoled, encouraged him, and revived his hopes: ſo that Mithridates, upon this occaſion, ſhowed himſelf not entirely void of humanity. Both together applied to raiſing new troops on all ſides.

In the mean time a furious ſedition aroſe in Tigranocerta; the Greeks having mutinied againſt the Barbarians, and determined at all events to deliver the city to Lucullus. That ſedition was at the higheſt when he arrived there. He took advantage of the occaſion, ordered the aſſault to be given, took the city, and after having ſeiſed all the king's treaſures, abandoned it to be plundered by the ſoldiers; who, beſides other riches, found in it eight thouſand talents of coined ſilver (about one million two hundred thouſand pounds ſterling). Beſides this plunder, he gave each ſoldier eight * hundred drachmas, which, with all the booty they had taken, did not ſuffice to ſatisfy their inſatiable avidity.

(*l*) As this city had been peopled by colonies, which had been carried away by force from Cappadocia, Cilicia, and other places, Lucullus permitted them all to return into their native countries. They received that permiſſion with extreme joy, and quitted it in ſo great a number, that from one of the greateſt cities in the world, Tigranocerta became in an inſtant almoſt a deſart.

(*m*) If Lucullus had purſued Tigranes after his victory, without giving him time to raiſe new troops, he would either have taken or driven him out of the country, and the war had been at an end. His having failed to do ſo, was very ill taken both in the army and

(*l*) Strab. l. xi. p. 532. & l. xii. p. 539. (*m*) Dion. Caſ. l. xxxv. p. 1.

* *About twenty pounds.*

and at Rome, and he was accuſed, not of negligence, but of having intended by ſuch conduct to make himſelf neceſſary, and to retain the command longer in his own hands. This was one of the reaſons that prejudiced the generality againſt him, and induced them to think of giving him a ſucceſſor, as we ſhall ſee in the ſequel.

After the great victory he had gained over Tigranes, ſeveral nations came to make their ſubmiſſions to him. He received alſo an embaſſy from the king of the Parthians, who demanded the amity and alliance of the Romans. Lucullus received this propoſal favourably, and ſent alſo ambaſſadors to him, who, being arrived at the Parthian court, diſcovered, that the king, uncertain which ſide to take, wavered between the Romans and Tigranes, and had ſecretly demanded Meſopotamia of the latter, as the price of the aid he offered him. Lucullus, informed of this ſecret intrigue, reſolved to leave Mithridates and Tigranes, and turn his arms againſt the king of the Parthians; flattered with the grateful thought, that nothing could be more glorious for him, than to have entirely reduced, in one expedition, the three moſt powerful princes under the ſun. But the oppoſition this propoſal met with from the troops, obliged him to renounce his enterpriſe againſt the Parthians, and to confine himſelf to purſuing Tigranes.

During this delay, Mithridates and Tigranes had been indefatigable in raiſing new troops. They had ſent to implore aid of the neighbouring nations, and eſpecially of the Parthians, who were the neareſt, and at the ſame time in the beſt condition to aſſiſt them in the preſent emergency of their affairs. Mithridates wrote a letter to their king, which Salluſt has preſerved, and is to be found amongſt his fragments. I ſhall inſert a part of it in this place.

*Letter*

*Letter of* MITHRIDATES *to* * ARSACES *King of the Parthians.*

" ALL thoſe † who, in a ſtate of proſperity, are " invited to enter as confederates into a war, " ought firſt to conſider, whether peace be at their " own option; and next, whether what is demanded " of them, is conſiſtent with juſtice, their intereſt, " ſafety, and glory. You might enjoy perpetual " peace and tranquillity, were not the enemy always " intent upon ſeiſing occaſions of war, and entirely " void of faith. In reducing the Romans, you can- " not but acquire exalted glory. It may ſeem in- " conſiſtent in me, to propoſe to you either an al- " liance with Tigranes, or, powerful as you are, that " you ſhould join a prince in my unfortunate condi- " tion. But I dare advance, that thoſe two motives, " your reſentment againſt Tigranes upon account " of his late war with you, and the no advantageous " ſituation of my affairs, to judge rightly of them, " far from oppoſing my demand, ought to ſupport " it. For as to Tigranes, as he knows he has given " you juſt cauſe of complaint, he will accept, without " difficulty, whatever conditions you ſhall think fit to " impoſe upon him; and for me, I can ſay, that for- " tune, by having deprived me of almoſt all I poſ- " ſeſſed, has enabled me to give others good coun- " ſels, and, which is much to be deſired in perſons " of

* *Arſaces was a common name to all the kings of Parthia.*

† Omnes, qui ſecundis rebus ſuis ad belli ſocietatem orantur, conſiderare debent, liceatne tum pacem agere, dein quod quæritur, ſatiſne pium, tutum, glorioſum, an indicorum ſit. Tibi perpetuâ pace frui liceret, niſi hoſtes opportuni & ſceleſtiſſimi. Egregia fama ſi Romanos oppreſſeris, futura eſt. Neque petere audeam ſocietatem, & fruſtra mala mea cum tuis bonis miſceri ſperem. Atqui ea, quæ te morari poſſe videntur, ira in Tigranem recentis belli, & meæ res parum proſperæ, ſi vera æſtumare voles, maximè hortabuntur. Ille enim obnoxius, qualem tu voles ſocietatem accipiet: mihi fortuna, multis rebus ereptis, uſum dedit bene ſuadendi, & quod florentibus optabile eſt, ego non validiſſimus præbeo exemplum, quo rectiùs tua componas. Namque Romanis cum nationibus, populis, regibus cunctis, una & ea vetus cauſa bellandi eſt, cupido profundæ imperii & divitiarum.

" of proſperity, I can, even from my own misfor-
" tunes, ſupply you with examples, and induce
" you to take better meaſures than I have done. For,
" do not deceive yourſelf, it is with all the nations,
" ſtates, and kingdoms of the earth, the Romans are
" at war; and two motives, as ancient as powerful,
" put their arms into their hands: the unbounded
" ambition of extending their conqueſts, and the in-
" ſatiable thirſt of riches." Mithridates afterwards enumerates at large the princes and kings they had reduced one after another, and often by one another. He repeats alſo his firſt ſucceſſes againſt the Romans, and his late misfortunes. He goes on to this effect: " Examine * now, I beg you, when we are finally
" ruined, whether you will be in a condition to reſiſt
" the Romans, or can believe, that they will confine
" their conqueſts to my country? I know you are
" powerful in men, in arms, and treaſure; it is there-
" fore we deſire to ſtrengthen ourſelves by your alli-
" ance; they, to grow rich by your ſpoils. For the
" reſt

* Nunc quæſo, conſidera, nobis oppreſſis, utrum firmiorem te ad reſiſtendum, an finem belli futurum putes? Scio equidem tibi magnas opes virorum, armorum, & auri eſſe: & ea re nobis ad ſocietatem, ab illis ad prædam peteris. Cæterùm conſilium eſt Tigranis, regno integro, meis militibus belli prudentibus, procul ab domo, parvo labore, per noſtra corpora bellum conficere: quando neque vincere neque vinci ſine periculo tuo poſſumus. An ignoras, Romanos, poſtquam ad occidentem pergentibus finem oceanus fecit, arma huc convertiſſe? Neque quicquam à principio niſi raptum habere; domum, conjuges, argos, imperium? Convenas, olim ſine patriâ, ſine parentibus, peſte conditos orbis terrarum: quibus non humana ulla neque divina obſtant, quin ſocios, amicos, procul, juxtaque ſitos, inopes, potenteſque trahant, excidantque; omniaque non ſerva, & maxime regna, hoſtilia ducant. Namque pauci libertatem pars magna juſtos dominos volunt. Nos ſuſpecti ſumus æmuli, & in tempore vindices affuturi. Tu vero cui Seleucia maxima urbium, regnumque Perſidis inclitis divitiis eſt, quid ab illis, niſi dolum in præſens, & poſtea bellum expectas? Romani in omnes arma habent, accerrima in eos quibus ſpolia maxima ſunt. Audendo & fallendo, & bella ex bellis ſerendo, magni facti. Per hunc morem extinguent omnia aut occident: quod difficile non eſt, ſi tu Meſopotamiâ, nos Armeniâ circumgredimur exercitum ſine frumento, ſine auxiliis. Fortuna autem noſtris vitiis adhuc incolumis. Teque illa fama ſequetur, auxilio profectum magnis regibus latrones gentium oppreſſiſſe. Quod uti facias moneo hortorque, neu malis pernicie noſtra unum imperium probare, quam ſocietate victor fieri.

" reſt, it is the intent of Tigranes to avoid drawing " the war into his own country, that we ſhall go with " all my troops, which are certainly well-diſciplined, " to carry our arms far from home, and attack the " enemy in perſon in their own country. We cannot " therefore either conquer or be conquered, without " your being in danger. Do you not know, that the " Romans, when they found themſelves ſtopped by " the ocean in the Weſt, turned their arms this way? " That to look back to their foundation and origin, " whatever they have, they have from violence, home, " wives, lands, and dominions. A vile herd of every " kind of vagabonds, without country, without fore- " fathers, they eſtabliſhed themſelves for the misfor- " tune of human race. Neither divine nor human " laws reſtrain them from betraying and deſtroying " their allies and friends, remote nations or neigh- " bours, the weak or the powerful. They reckon all " enemies that are not their ſlaves; and eſpecially, " whatever bears the name of king. For few nations " affect a free and independent government; the ge- " nerality prefer juſt and equitable maſters. They " ſuſpect us, becauſe we are ſaid to emulate their " power, and may in time avenge their oppreſſions. " But for you, who have Seleucia, the greateſt of " cities, and Perſia, the richeſt and moſt powerful of " kingdoms, what can you expect from them, but " deceit at preſent, and war hereafter? The Romans " are at war with all nations; but eſpecially with " thoſe, from whom the richeſt ſpoils are to be ex- " pected. They are become great by enterpriſing, " betraying, and by making one war bring forth an- " other. By this means they will either deſtroy all " others, or be deſtroyed themſelves. It will not be " difficult to ruin them, if you, on the ſide of Me- " ſopotamia, and we, on that of Armenia, ſurround " their army, without proviſions or auxiliaries. The " proſperity of their arms has ſubſiſted hitherto ſolely " by our fault, who have not been ſo prudent to un- " derſtand this common enemy, and to ally ourſelves

" againſt

" againſt him. It will be for your immortal glory to " have ſupported two great kings, and to have con- " quered and deſtroyed thoſe robbers of the world. " This is what I earneſtly adviſe and exhort you to " do; that you may chooſe rather to ſhare with us by " a ſalutary alliance, in conquering the common ene- " my, than to ſuffer the Roman empire to extend it- " ſelf univerſally by our ruin."

It does not appear that this letter had the effect upon Phraates, Mithridates might have hoped from it. So that the two kings contented themſelves with their own troops.

(*l*) One of the means made uſe of by Tigranes to aſſemble a new army, was to recall Megadates from Syria, who had governed it fourteen years in his name: Him he ſent orders to join him with all the troops in that country. (*m*) Syria being thereby entirely ungarriſoned, Antiochus Aſiaticus, ſon of Antiochus Eupator, to whom it of right appertained, as lawful heir of the houſe of Seleucus, took poſſeſſion of ſome part of the country, and reigned there peaceably during four years.

(*n*) The army of Tigranes and Mithridates was at laſt formed. It conſiſted of ſeventy thouſand choſen men, whom Mithridates had exerciſed well in the Roman diſcipline. It was about midſummer before it took the field. The two kings took particular care, in all the motions they made, to chooſe an advantageous ground for their camp, and to fortify it well, to prevent Lucullus's attacking them in it; nor could all the ſtratagems he uſed engage them to come to battle. Their deſign was to reduce him gradually; to harraſs his troops on their marches, in order to weaken them; to intercept his convoys, and oblige him to quit the country for want of proviſions. Lucullus not being able, by all the arts he could uſe, to bring them into the open field, employed a new means, which ſucceeded. Tigranes had A. M. 3936. Ant. J. C. 68.

(*l*) Appian. in Syr. p. 118, 119. (*m*) Juſtin. l. xl. c. 2.
(*n*) Plut. in Lucul. p. 513——515.

had left at Artaxata, the capital of Armenia before the foundation of Tigranocerta, his wives and children; as he had almoſt all his treaſures. Lucullus marched that way with all his troops, rightly foreſeeing, that Tigranes would not remain quiet, when he ſaw the danger to which his capital was expoſed. That prince accordingly decamped immediately, followed Lucullus to diſconcert his deſign; and by four great marches having got before him, poſted himſelf behind the river * Arſamia, which Lucullus was obliged to paſs in his way to Artaxata, and reſolved to diſpute the paſſage with him. The Romans paſſed the river without being prevented by the preſence or efforts of the enemy, a great battle enſued, in which the Romans again obtained a complete victory. There were three kings in the Armenian army, of whom Mithridates behaved the worſt. For not being able to look the Roman legions in the face, as ſoon as they charged, he was one of the firſt who fled; which threw the whole army into ſuch a conſternation, that it entirely loſt courage; and this was the principal cauſe of the loſs of the battle.

(*o*) Lucullus, after this victory, determined to continue his march to Artaxata, which was the certain means to put an end to the war. But as that city was ſtill ſeveral days journey from thence towards the north, and winter approached, by its train of ſnows and ſtorms, the † ſoldiers, already fatigued by a ſufficiently rude campaign, refuſed to follow him into that country, where the cold was too ſevere for them. He was obliged to lead them into a warmer climate, by returning the way he came. He therefore repaſſed mount Taurus, and entered Meſopotamia, where he took the city Niſibis, a place of conſiderable ſtrength, and put his troops into winter-quarters.

It

(*o*) Dion. Caſ. l. xxxvii. p. 3—7.

* *Or Arſania.*

† Noſter exercitus, etſi urbem nimiâ longinquitate locorum, ac ex Tigranis regno ceperat, & deſiderio ſuorum commovebatur. præliis uſus erat ſecundis, tamen *Cic. pro lege Mar.* n. 23.

It was there the ſpirit of mutiny began to ſhow itſelf openly in the army of Lucullus. That general's ſeverity, and the inſolent liberty of the Roman ſoldiers, and ſtill more, the malignant practices of Clodius, had given occaſion for this revolt. Clodius, ſo well known for the invectives of Cicero his enemy, is hardly better treated by hiſtorians. They repreſent him as a man abandoned to all kind of vices, and infamous for his debauches, which he carried ſo far, as to commit inceſt with his own ſiſter, the wife of Lucullus; to theſe he added unbounded audacity, and uncommon cunning in the contrivance of ſeditions: in a word, he was one of thoſe dangerous perſons, born to diſturb and ruin every thing, by the unhappy union in himſelf of the moſt wicked inclinations with the talents neceſſary for putting them in execution. He gave a proof of this upon the occaſion we are now ſpeaking. Diſcontented with Lucullus, he ſecretly ſpread reports againſt him, highly proper to render him odious. He affected to lament extremely the fatigues of the ſoldiers, and to enter into their intereſts. He told them every day, that they were very unfortunate, in being obliged to ſerve ſo long under a ſevere and avaricious general, in a remote climate, without lands or rewards, whilſt their fellow-ſoldiers, whoſe conqueſts were very moderate in compariſon with theirs, had enriched themſelves under Pompey. Diſcourſes of this kind, attended with obliging and popular behaviour, which he knew how to aſſume occaſionally without the appearance of affectation, made ſuch an impreſſion upon the ſoldiers, that it was no longer in the power of Lucullus to govern them.

Mithridates, in the mean time, had re-entered Pontus with four thouſand of his own, and four thouſand troops given him by Tigranes. * Several inha-



* Mithridates & ſuam manuam jam confirmârat, & eorum qui ſe ex ejus regno collegerant, & magnis adventitiis multorum regum & nationum copiis juvabatur. Hoc jam ferè ſic fieri ſolere

inhabitants of the country joined him again, as well out of hatred to the Romans, who had treated them with great rigour, as the remains of affection for their king, reduced to the mournful condition in which they ſaw him from the moſt ſplendid fortune and exalted greatneſs. For the misfortunes of princes naturally excite compaſſion, and there is generally a profound reſpect in the hearts of the people, for the name and perſon of kings. Mithridates, encouraged and ſtrengthened by theſe new aids, and the troops which ſeveral neighbouring ſtates and princes ſent him, reſumed courage, and ſaw himſelf, more than ever, in a condition to make head againſt the Romans. * So that not contented with being re-eſtabliſhed in his dominions, which a moment before he did not ſo much as hope ever to ſee again, he had the boldneſs to attack the Roman troops ſo often victorious, beat a body of them, commanded by Fabius, and after having put them to the route, preſſed Fiarius and Sornatius, two other of Lucullus's lieutenancy in that country, with great vigour.

Lucullus at length engaged his ſoldiers to quit their winter-quarters, and to go to their aid. But they arrived too late. Friarius had imprudently ventured a battle, in which Mithridates had defeated him, and killed him ſeven thouſand men; amongſt whom were reckoned an hundred and fifty centurions, and twenty-four tribunes †, which made this one of the greateſt loſſes the Romans had ſuſtained a great

ſolere accepimus; ut regum afflictæ fortunæ facilè multorum opes alliciant ad miſericordiam, maximeque eorum qui aut reges ſunt, aut vivant in regno: quod regale iis nomen magnum & ſanctum eſſe videatur. *Cic. pro leg. Manil.* n. 24.

* Itaque tantum victus efficere potuit, quantum incolumis nunquam eſt auſus optare. Nam cum ſe in regnum recepiſſet ſuum, non fuit eo contentus, quod ei præter ſpem acciderat, ut eam, poſtea quam pulſus erat, terram unquam attingeret: ſed in exercitum veſtrum clarum atque victorem impetum fecit.—*Cic. pro leg. Manil.* n. 25.

† Quæ calamitas tanta fuit, ut eam ad aures L. Luculli, non ex prælio nuntius, ſed ex ſermone rumor afferret. *Ibid.*

great while. The army had been entirely defeated, but for a wound Mithridates received, which exceedingly alarmed his troops, and gave the enemy time to eſcape. Lucullus, upon his arrival, found the dead bodies upon the field of battle, and did not give orders for their interment: which ſtill more exaſperated his ſoldiers againſt him. The ſpirit of revolt roſe ſo high, that without any regard for his character as a general, they treated him no longer but with inſolence and contempt; and though he went from tent to tent, and almoſt from man to man, to conjure them to march againſt Mithridates and Tigranes, he could never prevail upon them to quit the place where they were. They anſwered him brutally, that as he had no thoughts but of enriching himſelf alone out of the ſpoils of the enemy, he might march alone, and fight them, if he thought fit.

SECT. IV. MITHRIDATES, *taking advantage of the diſcord which had ariſen in the Roman army, recovers all his dominions.* POMPEY *is choſen to ſucceed* LUCULLUS. *He overthrows* MITHRIDATES *in ſeveral battles. The latter flies in vain to* TIGRANES *his ſon-in-law for refuge, who is engaged in a war with his own ſon.* POMPEY *marches into Armenia againſt* TIGRANES, *who comes to him and ſurrenders himſelf. Weary of purſuing* MITHRIDATES *to no purpoſe, he returns into Syria, makes himſelf maſter of that kingdom, and puts an end to the empire of the Seleucides. He marches back to Pontus.* PHARNACES *makes the army revolt againſt his father* MITHRIDATES, *who kills himſelf. That prince's character.* POMPEY's *expeditions into Arabia and Judæa, where he takes Jeruſalem. After having reduced all the cities of Pontus, he returns to Rome, and receives the honour of a triumph.*

MANIUS Acilius Glabrio, and C. Piſo had been elected conſuls at Rome. The firſt had Bithynia and Pontus for his province, where Lucullus

commanded. The ſenate, at the ſame time, diſbanded Fimbria's legions, which were part of his army. All this news augmented the diſobedience and inſolence of the troops in regard to Lucullus.

(q) It is true, his rough, auſtere, and frequently haughty diſpoſition gave ſome room for ſuch uſage. He cannot be denied the glory of having been one of the greateſt captains of his age; and of having had almoſt all the qualities that form a complete general. But the want of one diminiſhed the merit of all the reſt; I mean, addreſs in winning the heart, and making himſelf beloved by the ſoldiers. He was difficult of acceſs; rough in commanding; carried exactitude, in point of duty, to an exceſs that made it odious; was inexorable in puniſhing offences; and did not know how to conciliate eſteem by praiſes and rewards beſtowed opportunely, an air of kindneſs and favour, and inſinuating manners, ſtill more efficacious than either gifts or praiſes. And what proves, that the ſedition of the troops was in a great meaſure his own fault, was their being very docile and obedient under Pompey.

In conſequence of the letters Lucullus wrote to the ſenate, in which he acquainted them, that Mithridates was entirely defeated, and utterly incapable of retrieving himſelf, commiſſioners had been nominated to regulate the affairs of Pontus, as of a kingdom totally reduced. They were much ſurpriſed to find, upon their arrival, that far from being maſter of Pontus, he was not ſo much as maſter of his army, and that his own ſoldiers treated him with the utmoſt contempt.

The arrival of the conſul Acilius Glabrio ſtill added to their licentiouſneſs. * He informed them, that Lucullus had been accuſed at Rome of protracting the

(q) Dion. Caſſ. l. xxxv. p. 7.

* In ipſo illo malo graviſſimaque belli offenſione, L. Lucullus, qui tamen aliqua ex parte iis incommodis mederi fortaſſe potuiſſet, veſtro juſſu coactus, quod imperii diuturnitati modum ſtatuendum, veteri exemplo, putaviſtis, partem militum, qui jam ſtipendiis confectis erant, dimiſit, partem Glabrioni tradidit. *Cic. pro leg. Manil.* n. 26.

the war for the ſake of continuing his command; that the ſenate had diſbanded part of his troops, and forbad them paying him any further obedience. So that he ſoon found himſelf almoſt entirely abandoned by the ſoldiers. Mithridates, taking advantage of this diſorder, had time to recover his whole kingdom, and to make ravages in Cappadocia.

Whilſt the affairs of the army were in this condition, great noiſe was made at Rome againſt Lucullus. (r) Pompey was returned from putting an end to the war with the pirates, in which an extraordinary power had been granted him. Upon this occaſion one of the tribunes of the people, named Manilius, paſſed a decree to this effect: "That Pompey, taking upon "him the command of all the troops and provinces "which were under Lucullus, and adding to them "Bithynia, where Acilius commanded, ſhould be "charged with making war upon the kings Mithri-"dates and Tigranes, retaining under him all the "naval forces, and continuing to command at ſea "with the ſame conditions and prerogatives, as had "been granted him in the war againſt the pirates: "That is to ſay, that he ſhould have abſolute power "on all the coaſts of the Mediterranean, to thirty "leagues diſtance from the ſea." This was, in effect, ſubjecting the whole Roman empire to one man. For all the provinces which had not been granted him by the firſt decree, Phrygia, Lycaonia, Galatia, Cappadocia, Cilicia the Higher, Colchis, and Armenia, were conferred upon him by this ſecond, which included alſo all the armies and forces, with which Lucullus had defeated the two kings, Mithridates and Tigranes. A. M. 3938. Ant. J. C. 66.

Conſideration for Lucullus, who was deprived of the glory of his great exploits, and in the place of whom a general was appointed, to ſucceed more to the honours of his triumph, than the command of his armies, was not, however, what gave the nobility



(r) Plut in Pomp. p. 634. App. p. 238. Dion. Caſſ. l. xxxvi. p. 70.

and ſenate moſt concern. They were well convinced that great wrong was done him, and that his ſervices were not treated with the gratitude they deſerved: But what gave them moſt pain, and they could not ſupport, was that high degree of power to which Pompey was raiſed, which they conſidered as a tyranny already formed. It is for this reaſon they exhorted each other in a particular manner to oppoſe this decree, and not abandon their expiring liberty.

Cæſar and Cicero, who were very powerful at Rome, ſupported Manilius, or rather Pompey, with all their credit. It was upon this occaſion, the latter pronounced that fine oration before the people, intitled, *For the law of Manilius.* After having demonſtrated, in the two firſt parts of his diſcourſe, the neceſſity and importance of the war in queſtion, he proves, in the third, that Pompey is the only perſon capable of terminating it ſucceſsfully. For this purpoſe, he enumerates the qualities neceſſary to form a general of an army, and ſhows that Pompey poſſeſſes them all in a ſupeme degree. He inſiſts principally upon his probity, humanity, innocence of manners, integrity, diſintereſtedneſs, love of the publick good: "Virtues, by ſo much the more neceſſary (ſays he) "as the * Roman name is become infamous and "hateful amongſt foreign nations, and our allies, in "effect of the debauches, avarice, and unheard-of "oppreſſions of the generals and magiſtrates we ſend "amongſt them. † Inſtead of which, the wiſe, "moderate, and irreproachable conduct of Pompey, "will make him be regarded, not as ſent from "Rome,

* Difficile eſt dictu, Quirites, quanto in odio ſimus apud cæteras nationes, propter eorum, quos ad eas hoc anno cum imperio miſimus, injurias ac libidines. *Cic. pro leg. Man.* n. 61.

† Itaque omnes quidem nunc in his locis Cn. Pompeium, ſicut aliquem non ex hac urbe miſſum, ſed de cœlo delapſum intuentur. Nunc denique incipiunt credere fuiſſe homines Romanos hac quondam abſtinentiâ, quod jam nationibus cæteris incredibile, ac falſo memoriæ proditum, videbatur. Nunc imperii noſtri ſplendor illis gentibus lucet: nunc intelligunt, non ſine cauſa majores ſuos tum, cum hac temperantiâ magiſtratus habebamus, ſervire populo Romano, quam imperare aliis maluiſſe. *Ibid.* n. 41.

" Rome, but deſcended from heaven, for the hap-
" pineſs of the people. We begin to believe, that
" all which is related of the noble diſintereſt of
" thoſe ancient Romans is real and true; and that it
" was not without reaſon, under ſuch magiſtrates, that
" nations choſe rather to obey the Roman people, than
" to command others."

Pompey was at that time the idol of the people, wherefore the fear of diſpleaſing the multitude kept thoſe grave ſenators ſilent, who had appeared ſo well inclined, and ſo full of courage. The decree was authoriſed by the ſuffrages of all the tribes, and Pompey, though abſent, declared abſolute maſter of almoſt all Sylla had uſurped by arms, and by making a cruel war upon his country.

(s) We muſt not imagine, ſays a very judicious hiſtorian, that either Cæſar or Cicero, who took ſo much pains to have this law paſſed, acted from views of the publick good. Cæſar, full of ambition and great projects, endeavoured to make his court to the people, whoſe authority he knew was at that time much greater than the ſenate's: he thereby opened himſelf a way to the ſame power, and familiariſed the Romans to extraordinary and unlimited commiſſions: in heaping upon the head of Pompey ſo many favours and glaring diſtinctions, he flattered himſelf, that he ſhould at length render him odious to the people, who would ſoon take offence at them. So that in lifting him up, he had no other deſign than to prepare a precipice for him. Cicero alſo intended only his own greatneſs. It was his weakneſs to deſire to lord it in the commonwealth, not indeed by guilt and violence, but by the method of perſuaſion. Beſides his having the ſupport of Pompey's credit in view, he was very well pleaſed with ſhowing the nobility and people, who formed two parties, and in a manner two republicks in the ſtate, that he was capable of making the balance incline to the ſide he eſpouſed. In conſequence, it was always his policy to conciliate



(s) Dion. Caſſ. l. xxxvi. p. 20, 21.

equally both parties, in declaring ſometimes for the one, and ſometimes for the other.

A. M. 3938. Ant. J. C. 66. (*t*) Pompey, who had already terminated the war with the pirates, was ſtill in Cilicia, when he received letters to inform him of all the people had decreed in his favour. When his friends, who were preſent, congratulated him, and expreſſed their joy, it is ſaid, that he knit his brows, ſtruck his thigh, and cried out, as if oppreſſed by, and ſorry for that new command; *Gods, what endleſs labours am I devoted to? Had I not been more happy as a man unknown and inglorious? Shall I never ceaſe to make war, nor ever have my arms off my back? Shall I never eſcape the envy that perſecutes me, nor live at peace in the country with my wife and children?*

This is uſually enough the language of the ambitious, even of thoſe who are moſt exceſſively actuated by that paſſion. But however ſucceſsful they may be in impoſing upon themſelves, it ſeldom happens that they deceive others, and the publick is far from miſtaking them. The friends of Pompey, and even thoſe who were moſt intimate with him, could not ſupport his diſſimulation at this time. For there was not one of them who did not know, that his natural ambition and paſſion for command, ſtill more inflamed by his difference with Lucullus, made him find a more exalted and ſenſible ſatisfaction, in the new charge conferred upon him. And his actions ſoon took off the maſk, and explained his real ſentiments.

The firſt ſtep which he took upon arriving in the provinces of his government, was to forbid any obedience whatſoever to the orders of Lucullus. In his march, he altered every thing his predeceſſor had decreed. He diſcharged ſome from the penalties Lucullus had laid upon them; deprived others of the rewards he had given them; in ſhort, his ſole view in every thing was to let the partiſans of Lucullus

(*t*) Plut in Pomp. 634—636. Dion. Caſſ. l. xxxvi. p. 22—25. Appian. p. 238.

lus ſee, that they adhered to a man, who had neither authority nor power. (*u*) Strabo's uncle by the mother's ſide, highly diſcontented with Mithridates, for having put to death ſeveral of his relations, to avenge himſelf for that cruelty, had gone over to Lucullus, and had given up fifteen places in Cappadocia to him. Lucullus loaded him with honours, and promiſed to reward him as ſuch conſiderable ſervices deſerved. Pompey, far from having any regard for ſuch juſt and reaſonable engagements, which his predeceſſor had entered into ſolely from the view of the publick good, affected an univerſal oppoſition to them, and looked upon all thoſe as his enemies, who had contracted any friendſhip with Lucullus.

It is not uncommon for a ſucceſſor to endeavour to leſſen the value of his predeceſſor's actions, in order to arrogate all honour to himſelf; but certainly none ever carried that conduct to ſuch monſtrous exceſs as Pompey did at this time. His great qualities and innumerable conqueſts are exceedingly extolled; but ſo baſe and odious a jealouſy ought to ſully, or rather totally eclipſe, the glory of them. Such was the manner in which Pompey thought fit to begin.

Lucullus made bitter complaints of him. Their common friends, in order to a reconciliation, concerted an interview between them. It paſſed at firſt with all poſſible politeneſs, and with reciprocal marks of eſteem and amity. But theſe were only compliments, and a language that extended no farther than the lips, which coſts the great nothing. The heart ſoon explained itſelf. The converſation growing warm by degrees, they proceeded to injurious terms; Pompey reproaching Lucullus with his avarice, and Lucullus Pompey with his ambition, in which they ſpoke the truth of each other. They parted more incenſed, and greater enemies than before.

Lucullus

(*u*) Strab. l. xii. p. 557, 558.

Lucullus ſet out for Rome, whither he carried a great quantity of books, which he had collected in his conqueſts. He put them into a library, which was open to all the learned and curious, whom it drew about him in great numbers. They were received at his houſe with all poſſible politeneſs and generoſity. The honour of a triumph was granted to Lucullus; but not without being long conteſted.

(*x*) It was he who firſt brought cherries to Rome, which till then had been unknown in Europe. They were called Ceraſus, from a city of that name in Cappadocia.

Pompey began, by engaging Phraates king of the Parthians in the Roman intereſt. He has been ſpoken of already, and is the ſame who was ſurnamed *the God*. He concluded an offenſive and defenſive alliance with him. He offered peace alſo to Mithridates; but that prince, believing himſelf ſure of the amity and aid of Phraates, would not ſo much as hear it mentioned. When he was informed that Pompey had prevented him, he ſent to treat with him. But Pompey having demanded, by way of preliminary, that he ſhould lay down his arms, and give up all deſerters, thoſe propoſals were very near occaſioning a mutiny in Mithridates's army. As there were abundance of deſerters in it, they could not ſuffer any thing to be ſaid upon delivering them up to Pompey; nor would the reſt of the army conſent to ſee themſelves weakened by the loſs of their comrades. Mithridates was obliged to tell them, that he had ſent his ambaſſadors only to inſpect into the condition of the Roman army; and to ſwear, that he would not make peace with the Romans either on thoſe or on any other conditions.

Pompey, having diſtributed his fleet in different ſtations, to guard the whole ſea between Phœnicia and the Boſphorus, marched by land againſt Mithridates, who had ſtill thirty thouſand foot, and two or three thouſand horſe; but did not dare however to come to a battle. That prince was encamped very ſtrongly

(*x*) Plin. l. xv. c. 25.

ſtrongly upon a mountain, where he could not be forced; but he abandoned it on Pompey's approach, for want of water. Pompey immediately took poſſeſſion of it, and conjecturing, from the nature of the plants and other ſigns, that there were abundance of ſprings within it, he ordered wells to be dug, and in an inſtant the camp had water in abundance. Pompey could not ſufficiently wonder how Mithridates, for want of attention and curioſity, had been ſo long ignorant of ſo important and neceſſary a reſource.

Soon after he followed him, encamped near him, and ſhut him up within good walls, which he carried quite round his camp. They were almoſt eight* leagues in circumference, and were fortified with good towers, at proper diſtances from each other. Mithridates, either through fear or negligence, ſuffered him to finiſh his works. He reduced him in conſequence to ſuch a want of proviſions, that his troops were obliged to ſubſiſt upon the carriage beaſts in their camp. The horſes only were ſpared. After having ſuſtained this kind of ſiege for almoſt fifty days, Mithridates eſcaped by night, with all the beſt troops of his army, having firſt ordered all the uſeleſs and ſick perſons to be killed.

Pompey immediately purſued him, came up with him near the Euphrates, encamped near him; and apprehending, that in order to eſcape, he would make haſte to paſs the river, he quitted his entrenchments, and advanced againſt him by night in order of battle. His deſign was only to ſurround the enemy, to prevent their flying, and to attack them at day-break the next morning. But all his old officers made ſuch intreaties and remonſtrances to him, that they determined him to fight without waiting till day; for the night was not very dark, the moon giving light enough for diſtinguiſhing objects, and knowing one another. Pompey could not refuſe himſelf to the ardour of his troops, and led them on againſt the enemy. The Barbarians were afraid to ſtand the attack, and fled imme-

* 150. *ſtadia.*

immediately in the utmoſt conſternation. The Romans made a great ſlaughter of them, killed them above ten thouſand men, and took their whole camp.

Mithridates, with eight hundred horſe, in the beginning of the battle, opened himſelf a way ſword in hand through the Roman army, and went off. But thoſe eight hundred horſe ſoon quitted their ranks and diſperſed, and left him with only three followers, of which number was Hypſicratia, one of his wives, a woman of maſculine courage and warlike boldneſs; which occaſioned her being called Hypſicrates (*x*), by changing the termination of her name from the feminine to the maſculine. She was mounted that day upon a Perſian horſe, and wore the habit of a ſoldier of that nation. She continued to attend the king, without giving way to the fatigues of his long journies, or being weary of ſerving him, though ſhe took care of his horſe herſelf, till they arrived at a fortreſs, where the king's treaſures and moſt precious effects lay. There, after having diſtributed the moſt magnificent of his robes to ſuch as were aſſembled about him, he made a preſent to each of his friends of a mortal poiſon, that none of them might fall alive into the hands of their enemies, but by their own conſent.

(*y*) That unhappy fugitive ſaw no other hopes for him, but from his ſon-in-law Tigranes. He ſent ambaſſadors to demand his permiſſion to take refuge in his dominions, and aid for the re-eſtabliſhment of his entirely ruined affairs. Tigranes was at that time at war with his ſon. He cauſed thoſe ambaſſadors to be ſeiſed, and thrown into priſon, and ſet a price upon his father-in-law's head, promiſing an hundred * talents to whoſoever ſhould ſeiſe or kill him; under pretence, that it was Mithridates who had made his ſon take up arms againſt him; but in reality to make his court to the Romans, as we ſhall ſoon ſee.

Pompey,

(*x*) Ultra fœminam ferox. *Tacit.* (*y*) Plut. in Pomp. p. 636, 637. Appian. p. 242. Dion. Caſſ. l. xxxvi. p. 25, 26.

* *An hundred thouſand crowns.*

Pompey, after the victory he had gained, marched into Armenia Major againſt Tigranes. He found him at war with his ſon of his own name. We have obſerved, that the king of Armenia had eſpouſed Cleopatra, the daughter of Mithridates. He had three ſons by her, two of whom he had put to death without reaſon. The third, to eſcape the cruelty of ſo unnatural a father, had fled to Phraates, king of Parthia, whoſe daughter he had married. His father-in-law carried him back to Armenia at the head of an army, where they beſieged Artaxata. But finding the place very ſtrong, and provided with every thing neceſſary for a good defence, Phraates left him part of the army to carry on the ſiege, and returned with the reſt into his own dominions. Tigranes the father ſoon after fell upon the ſon with all his troops, beat his army, and drove him out of the country. That young prince, after this misfortune, had deſigned to withdraw to his grandfather Mithridates. But on the way was informed of his defeat, and having loſt all hope of obtaining aid from him, he reſolved to throw himſelf into the arms of the Romans. Accordingly, he entered their camp, and went to Pompey to implore his protection. Pompey gave him a very good reception, and was glad of his coming; for being to carry the war into Armenia, he had occaſion for ſuch a guide as him. He therefore cauſed that prince to conduct him directly to Artaxata.

Tigranes, terrified at this news, and ſenſible that he was not in a condition to oppoſe ſo powerful an army, reſolved to have recourſe to the generoſity and clemency of the Roman general. He put the ambaſſadors ſent to him by Mithridates into his hands, and followed them directly himſelf. Without taking any precaution, he entered the Roman camp, and went to ſubmit his perſon and crown to the diſcretion of Pompey and the Romans. * He ſaid, that of all the Romans,

* Mox ipſe ſupplex & præſens ſe regnumque ditioni ejus permiſit, præfatus: neminem alium neque Romanum neque ullius gentis virum futurum fuiſſe, cujus ſe fidei commiſſurus foret, quam Cn. Pom-

Romans, and of all mankind, Pompey was the only perſon in whoſe faith he could confide; that in whatſoever manner he ſhould decide his fate, he ſhould be ſatisfied: that he was not aſhamed to be conquered by a man, whom none could conquer; and that it was no diſhonour to ſubmit to him, whom fortune had made ſuperior to all others.

When he arrived on horſeback near the entrenchment of the camp, two of Pompey's lictors came out to meet him, and ordered him to diſmount and enter on foot; telling him that no ſtranger had ever been known to enter a Roman camp on horſeback. Tigranes obeyed, ungirt his ſword, and gave it to the lictors; and after, when he approached Pompey, taking off his diadem, he would have laid it at his feet, and proſtrated himſelf to the earth to embrace his knees. But Pompey ran to prevent him, and taking him by the hand, carried him into his tent, made him ſit on the right, and his ſon, the young Tigranes, on the left ſide of him. He after referred hearing what he had to ſay to the next day, and invited the father and ſon to ſup with him that evening. The ſon refuſed to be there with his father; and as he had not ſhowed him the leaſt mark of reſpect during the interview, and had treated him with the ſame indifference as if he had been a ſtranger, Pompey was very much offended at that behaviour. He did not, however, entirely neglect his intereſts in determining upon the affair of Tigranes. After having condemned Tigranes to pay the Romans * ſix thouſand talents for the charges of the war he had made againſt them without cauſe, and to relinquiſh to them all his conqueſts on that ſide of the Euphrates, he decreed, that he ſhould reign in his ancient kingdom Armenia Major, and that his ſon ſhould have Gordiana and Sophena, two provinces upon the borders of Armenia,

Pompeium. Proinde omnem ſibi vel adverſam vel ſecundam, cujus auctor ille eſſet, fortunam, tolerabilem futuram. Non eſſe turpe ab eo vinci, quem vincere eſſet nefas: neque ei inhoneſtè aliquem ſummitti, quem fortuna ſuper omnes extuliſſet. *Vel. Paterc.* l. ii. c. 37.

* *About* 900,000 l. *ſterling.*

Armenia, during his father's life, and all the reſt of his dominions after his death; reſerving, however, to the father, the treaſures he had in Sophena, without which it had been impoſſible for him to have paid the Romans the ſum Pompey required of him.

The father was well ſatisfied with theſe conditions, which ſtill left him a crown. But the ſon, who had entertained chimerical hopes, could not reliſh a decree which deprived him of what had been promiſed him. He was even ſo much diſcontented with it, that he wanted to eſcape, in order to have excited new troubles. Pompey, who ſuſpected his deſign, ordered him to be always kept in view; and upon his abſolutely refuſing to conſent that his father ſhould withdraw his treaſures from Sophena, he cauſed him to be put into priſon. Afterwards having diſcovered, that he ſollicited the Armenian nobility to take up arms, and endeavoured to engage the Parthians to do the ſame, he put him amongſt thoſe he reſerved for his triumph.

Some time after, Phraates, king of the Parthians, ſent to Pompey, to claim that young prince as his ſon-in-law; and to repreſent to him, that he ought to make the Euphrates the boundary of his conqueſts. Pompey made anſwer, that the younger Tigranes was more related to his father than his father-in-law; and that as to his conqueſts, he ſhould give them ſuch bounds as reaſon and juſtice required; but without being preſcribed them by any one.

When Tigranes had been ſuffered to poſſeſs himſelf of his treaſures in Sophena, he paid the ſix thouſand talents, and beſides that, gave every private ſoldier fifty * drachmas, a † thouſand to a centurion, and ten thouſand to each ‡ tribune; and by that liberality obtained the title of friend and ally of the Roman people. This had been pardonable, had he not added to it abject behaviour and ſubmiſſions unworthy of a king.

Pompey gave all Cappadocia to Ariobarzanes, and added

* *About* 22s. † *About* 25l. *ſterling*. ‡ *About* 250l. *ſterling*.

added to it Sophena and Gordiana, which he had deſigned for young Tigranes.

(z) After having regulated every thing in Armenia, Pompey marched northwards in purſuit of Mithridates. Upon the banks of the * Cyrus he found the Albanians and Iberians, two powerful nations, ſituate between the Caſpian and Euxine ſeas, who endeavoured to ſtop him; but he beat them, and obliged the Albanians to demand peace. He granted it, and paſſed the winter in their country.

A. M. 3939. Ant. J. C. 65. The next year he took the field very early againſt the Iberians. This was a very warlike nation, and had never been conquered. It had always retained its liberty, during the time that the Medes, Perſians, and Macedonians, had alternately poſſeſſed the empire of Aſia. Pompey found means to ſubdue this people, though not without very conſiderable difficulties, and obliged them to demand peace. The king of the Iberians ſent him a bed, a table, and a throne, all of maſſy gold; deſiring him to accept thoſe preſents as earneſts of his amity. Pompey put them into the hands of the quæſtors for the publick treaſury. He alſo ſubjected the people of Colchis, and made their king Olthaces priſoner, whom he afterwards led in triumph. From thence he returned into Albania, to chaſtiſe that nation for having taken up arms again, whilſt he was engaged with the Iberians and people of Colchis.

The army of the Albanians was commanded by Coſis, the brother of king Orodes. That prince, as ſoon as the two armies came to blows, confined himſelf to Pompey, and ſpurring furiouſly up to him, darted his javelin at him. But Pompey received him ſo vigorouſly with his ſpear, that it went through his body, and laid him dead at his horſe's feet. The Albanians were overthrown, and a great ſlaughter was made of them. This victory obliged king Orodes to buy a ſecond peace upon the ſame terms with that he had

(z) Plut. in Pomp. p. 637 Dion. Caſſ. l. xxxvi. p. 28—33. Appian. p. 24, 25.

* *Called Cyrnus alſo by ſome authors.*

had made with the Romans the year before, at the price of great preſents, and by giving one of his ſons as an hoſtage for his obſerving it better than he had done the former.

Mithridates, in the mean time, had paſſed the winter at Dioſcurias, in the north-eaſt of the Euxine ſea. Early in the ſpring he marched to the Cimmerian Boſphorus, through ſeveral nations of the Scythians, ſome of which ſuffered him to paſs voluntarily, and others were obliged to it by force. The kingdom of the Cimmerian Boſphorus is the ſame now called Crim-Tartary, and was at that time a province of Mithridates's empire. He had given it as an appanage to one of his ſons, named Machares. But that young prince had been ſo vigorouſly handled by the Romans, whilſt they beſieged Sinope, and their fleet was in poſſeſſion of the Euxine ſea, which lay between that city and his kingdom, that he had been obliged to make a peace with them, and had inviolably obſerved it till then. He well knew that his father was extremely diſpleaſed with ſuch conduct, and therefore very much apprehended his preſence. In order to a reconciliation, he ſent ambaſſadors to him upon his route, who repreſented to him, that he had been reduced to act in that manner, contrary to his inclination, by the neceſſity of his affairs. But finding that his father would not hearken to his reaſons, he endeavoured to ſave himſelf by ſea, and was taken by veſſels ſent expreſsly by Mithridates to cruiſe in his way. He choſe rather to die than fall into his father's hands.

Pompey having terminated the war in the North, and ſeeing it impoſſible to follow Mithridates in the remote country into which he had retired, led back his army to the ſouth, and on his march ſubjected Darius, king of the Medes, and Antiochus, king of Comagena. He went on to Syria, and made himſelf maſter of the whole empire. Scaurus reduced Cœlo-ſyria and Damaſcus, and Gabinius all the reſt of the country, as far as the Tygris; they were his lieute-

nant-generals. (*c*) Antiochus Aſiaticus, ſon of Antiochus Euſebes, heir of the houſe of the Seleucides, who, by Lucullus's permiſſion, had reigned four years in part of that country, of which he had taken poſſeſſion when Tigranes abandoned it, came to ſollicit him to re-eſtabliſh him upon the throne of his anceſtors. But Pompey refuſed to give him audience, and deprived him of all his dominions, which he made a Roman province. Thus, whilſt Tigranes was left in poſſeſſion of Armenia, who had done the Romans great hurt, during the courſe of a long war, Antiochus was dethroned, who had never committed the leaſt hoſtility, and by no means deſerved ſuch treatment. The reaſon given for it was, that the Romans had conquered Syria under Tigranes; that it was not juſt that they ſhould loſe the fruit of their victory; that Antiochus was a prince, who had neither the courage nor capacity neceſſary for the defence of the country; and that to put it into his hands, would be to expoſe it to the perpetual ravages and incurſions of the Jews, which Pompey took care not to do. In conſequence of this way of reaſoning, Antiochus loſt his crown, and was reduced to the neceſſity of paſſing his life as a private perſon. In him ended the empire of the Seleucides, after a duration of almoſt two hundred and fifty years.

A. M. 3939. Ant. J. C. 65.

During theſe expeditions of the Romans in Aſia, great revolutions happened in Egypt. The Alexandrians, weary of their king Alexander, took up arms, and after having expelled him, called in Ptolomæus Auletes to ſupply his place. That hiſtory will be treated at large in the enſuing article.

(*d*) Pompey afterwards went to Damaſcus, where he regulated ſeveral affairs relating to Egypt and Judæa. During his reſidence there, twelve crowned heads went thither to make their court to him, and were all in the city at the ſame time.

(*e*) A fine contention between the love of a father and

(*c*) Appian. in Syr. p. 133. Juſtin. l. xl. c. 2. (*d*) Plut. in Pomp. p. 638, 639. (*e*) Val. Max. l. v. c. 7.

and the duty of a ſon was ſeen at this time, a very extraordinary conteſt in thoſe days, when the moſt horrid murthers and parricides frequently opened the way to thrones. Ariobarzanes, king of Cappadocia, voluntarily reſigned the crown in favour of his ſon, and put the diadem on his head in the preſence of Pompey. The moſt ſincere tears flowed in abundance from the eyes of the truely afflicted ſon, for what others would have highly rejoiced. It was the ſole occaſion in which he thought diſobedience allowable; and he would have * perſiſted in refuſing the ſcepter, if Pompey's orders had not interfered, and obliged him at length to ſubmit to paternal authority. This is the ſecond example Cappadocia has inſtanced of ſo generous a diſpute. We have ſpoken in its place of the like conteſt between the two Ariarathes.

As Mithridates was in poſſeſſion of ſeveral ſtrong places in Pontus and Cappadocia, Pompey judged it neceſſary to return thither, in order to reduce them. He made himſelf maſter of almoſt all of them, in conſequence, upon his arrival, and afterwards wintered at Aſpis, a city of Pontus.

Stratonice, one of Mithridates's wives, ſurrendered a caſtle of the Boſphorus, which ſhe had in her keeping, to Pompey, with the treaſures concealed in it, demanding only for recompence, if her ſon Xiphares ſhould fall into his hands, that he ſhould be reſtored to her. Pompey accepted only ſuch of thoſe preſents as would ſerve for the ornaments of temples. When Mithridates knew what Stratonice had done, to revenge her facility in ſurrendering that fortreſs, which he conſidered as a treaſon, he killed Xiphares in his mother's ſight, who beheld that ſad ſpectacle from the other ſide of the ſtrait.

Caina, or the new city was the ſtrongeſt place in Pontus, and therefore Mithridates kept the greateſt part of his treaſures, and whatever he had of greateſt value in that place, which he conceived impregnable.



* Nec ullum finem tam egregium certamen habuiſſet niſi patriæ voluntati auctoritas Pompeii adfuiſſet. *Val. Max.*

Pompey took it, and with it all that Mithridates had left in it. Amongſt other things were found ſecret memoirs, written by himſelf, which gave a very good light into his character. In one part he had noted down the perſons he had poiſoned, amongſt whom were his own ſon Ariarathes, and Alcæus of Sardis; the latter, becauſe he had carried the prize in the chariot-race againſt him. What fantaſtical records were theſe! Was he afraid that the publick and poſterity ſhould not be informed of his monſtrous crimes, and his motives for committing them?

(*f*) His memoirs of phyſick were alſo found there, which Pompey cauſed to be tranſlated into Latin by Lenæus, a good grammarian, one of his freedmen; and they were afterwards made publick in that language. For amongſt the other extraordinary qualities of Mithridates, he was very ſkilful in medicines. It was he who invented the excellent antidote, which ſtill bears his name, and from which phyſicians have experienced ſuch effects, that they continue to uſe it ſucceſsfully to this day.

A. M. 3940. Ant. J. C. 64. (*g*) Pompey, during his ſtay at Aſpis, made ſuch regulations in the affairs of the country, as the ſtate of them would admit. As ſoon as the ſpring returned, he marched back into Syria for the ſame purpoſe. He did not think it adviſeable to purſue Mithridates in the kingdom of Boſphorus, whither he was returned. To do that, he muſt have marched round the Euxine ſea with an army, and paſſed through many countries, either inhabited by barbarous nations, or entirely deſert; a very dangerous enterpriſe, in which he would have run great riſque of periſhing. So that all Pompey could do, was to poſt the Roman fleet in ſuch a manner, as to intercept any convoys that might be ſent to Mithridates. He believed, by that means, he ſhould be able to reduce him to the laſt extremity; and ſaid, on ſetting out, that he left Mithridates more formi-

(*f*) Plin. l. xxv. c. 20. Plut. in Pomp. p. 639—641. Appian. p. 246—251.

(*g*) Joſeph. Antiq. l. xiv. c. 5, 6, Dion. Caſ. l. xxxvii. p. 34—36.

formidable enemies than the Romans, which were hunger and neceſſity.

What carried him with ſo much ardour into Syria was his exceſſive and vain-glorious ambition to puſh his conqueſts as far as the Red-ſea. In Spain, and before that in Africa, he had carried the Roman arms as far as the weſtern ocean on both ſides of the ſtraits of the Mediterranean. In the war againſt the Albanians, he had extended his conqueſts to the Caſpian ſea, and believed there was nothing wanting to his glory, but to puſh them on as far as the Red-ſea. Upon his arrival in Syria, he declared Antioch and Seleucia, upon the Orontes, free cities, and continued his march towards Damaſcus; from whence he deſigned to have gone on againſt the Arabians, and afterwards to have conquered all the countries to the Red-ſea. But an accident happened, which obliged him to ſuſpend all his projects, and to return into Pontus.

Some time before, an embaſſy came to him from Mithridates, king of Pontus, who demanded peace. He propoſed, that he ſhould be ſuffered to retain his hereditary dominions, as Tigranes had been, upon condition of paying a tribute to the Romans, and reſigning all other provinces. Pompey replied, that then he ſhould alſo come in perſon, as Tigranes had done. Mithridates could not conſent to ſuch a meanneſs, but propoſed ſending his children, and ſome of his principal friends. Pompey would not agree to that. The negociation broke up, and Mithridates applied himſelf to making preparations for war with as much vigour as ever. Pompey, who received advice of this activity, judged it neceſſary to be upon the ſpot, in order to have an eye to every thing. For that purpoſe, he went to paſs ſome time at Amiſus, the ancient capital of the country. There, through the juſt puniſhment of the gods, ſays Plutarch, his ambition made him commit faults, which drew upon him the blame of all the world. He had publickly charged and reproached Lucullus, that ſubſiſting the

war, he had diſpoſed of provinces, given rewards, decreed honours, and acted in all things as victors are not accuſtomed to act, till a war be finally terminated; and now fell into the ſame inconſiſtency himſelf. For he diſpoſed of governments, and divided the dominions of Mithridates into provinces, as if the war had been at an end. But Mithridates ſtill lived, and every thing was to be apprehended from a prince inexhauſtible in reſources, whom the greateſt defeats could not diſconcert, and whom loſſes themſelves ſeemed to inſpire with new courage, and to ſupply with new forces. At that very time, when he was believed to be entirely ruined, he actually meditated a terrible invaſion into the very heart of the Roman empire with the troops he had lately raiſed.

Pompey, in the diſtribution of rewards, gave Armenia Minor to Dejotarus, prince of Galatia, who had always continued firmly attached to the Roman intereſts during this war, to which he added the title of king. It was this Dejotarus, who, by always perſiſting, out of gratitude, in his adherence to Pompey, incurred the reſentment of Cæſar, and had occaſion for the eloquence of Cicero to defend him.

He made Archelaus alſo high-prieſt of the Moon, who was the ſupreme goddeſs of the Comanians, and gave him the ſovereignty of the place, which contained at leaſt ſix thouſand perſons, all devoted to the worſhip of that deity. I have already obſerved, that this Archelaus was the ſon of him, who had commanded in chief the troops ſent by Mithridates into Greece in his firſt war with the Romans, and who, being diſgraced by that prince, had, with his ſon, taken refuge amongſt them. They had always, from that time, continued their firm adherents, and had been of great uſe to them in the wars of Aſia. The father being dead, the high-prieſthood of Comana was given to the ſon, in recompence for the ſervices of both.

During Pompey's ſtay in Pontus, Aretas, king of Arabia Petræa; took the advantage of his abſence to

make incurſions into Syria, which very much diſtreſſed the inhabitants. Pompey returned thither. Upon his way he came to the place where lay the dead bodies of the Romans killed in the defeat of Triarius. He cauſed them to be interred with great ſolemnity, which gained him the hearts of his ſoldiers. From thence he continued his march towards Syria, with the view of executing the projects he had formed for the war of Arabia: but important advices interrupted thoſe deſigns.

Though Mithridates had loſt all hopes of peace, after Pompey had rejected the overtures he had cauſed to be made to him; and though he ſaw many of his ſubjects abandon his party, far from loſing courage, he had formed the deſign of croſſing Pannonia, and paſſing the Alps to attack the Romans in Italy itſelf, as Hannibal had done before him: a project more bold than prudent, with which his inveterate hatred and blind deſpair had inſpired him. A great number of neighbouring Scythians had entered themſelves in his ſervice, and conſiderably augmented his army. He had ſent deputies into Gaul to ſollicit that people to join him, when he ſhould approach the Alps. As great paſſions are always credulous, and men eaſily flatter themſelves in what they ardently deſire, he was in hopes that the flame of the revolt among the ſlaves in Italy and Sicily, perhaps ill extinguiſhed, might ſuddenly rekindle upon his preſence: that the pirates would ſoon repoſſeſs themſelves of the empire of the ſea, and involve the Romans in new difficulties; and that the provinces, oppreſſed by the avarice and cruelty of the magiſtrates and generals, would be fond of throwing off the yoke by his aid, under which they had ſo long groaned. Such were the thoughts that he had revolved in his mind.

But as to execute this project, it was neceſſary to march five hundred leagues, and traverſe the countris now called Little Tartary, Moldavia, Wallachia, Tranſylvania, Hungary, Stiria, Carinthia, Tirol, and Lombardy, and paſs three great rivers, the Boryſthenes,

Danube, and Po: the idea alone of ſo rude and dangerous a march, threw his army into ſuch a terrour, that, to prevent the execution of his deſign, they conſpired againſt him, and choſe Pharnaces his ſon king, who had been active in exciting the ſoldiers to this revolt. Mithridates then, ſeeing himſelf abandoned by all the world, and that even his ſon would not ſuffer him to eſcape where he could, retired to his apartment, and after having given poiſon to ſuch of his wives and daughters as were with him at that time, he took the ſame himſelf; but when he perceived that it had not its effect upon him, he had recourſe to his ſword. The wound he gave himſelf not ſufficing, he was obliged to deſire a Gauliſh ſoldier to put an end to his life. Dion ſays, he was killed by his own ſon.

A. M. 3941. Ant. J. C. 63. Mithridates had reigned ſixty years, and lived ſeventy-two. His greateſt fear was to fall into the hands of the Romans, and to be led in triumph. To prevent that misfortune, he always carried poiſon about him, in order to eſcape that way if other means ſhould fail. The apprehenſion he was in, leſt his ſon ſhould deliver him up to Pompey, occaſioned his taking the fatal reſolution he executed ſo ſuddenly. It was generally ſaid, the reaſon that the poiſon did not kill him, was his having taken antidotes ſo much, that his conſtitution was proof againſt it. But this is believed an errour, and that it is impoſſible any remedy ſhould be an univerſal antidote againſt all the different ſpecies of poiſon.

Pompey was at Jericho in Paleſtine, whither the differences between Hyrcanus and Ariſtobulus, of which we have ſpoken elſewhere, had carried him, when he received the firſt news of Mithridates's death. It was brought him by expreſſes diſpatched on purpoſe from Pontus with letters from his lieutenants. Thoſe expreſſes arriving with their lances crowned with laurels, which was cuſtomary only when they brought advice of ſome victory, or news of great importance and advantage, the army was very eager and

and ſollicitous to know what it was. As they had only began to form their camp, and had not erected the tribunal, from which the general harangued the troops, without ſtaying to raiſe one of turf, as was uſual, becauſe that would take up too much time, they made one of the packs of their carriage horſes, upon which Pompey mounted without ceremony. He acquainted them with the death of Mithridates, and the manner of his killing himſelf; that his ſon Pharnaces ſubmitted himſelf and dominions to the Romans, and thereby that tedious war, which had endured ſo long, was at length terminated. This gave both the army and general great ſubject to rejoice.

Such was the end of Mithridates; a prince, ſays * an hiſtorian, of whom it is difficult either to ſpeak or be ſilent: full of activity in war, of diſtinguiſhed courage; ſometimes very great by fortune, and always of invincible reſolution; truely a general in his prudence and counſel, and a ſoldier in action and danger; a ſecond Hannibal in his hatred of the Romans.

Cicero ſays of Mithridates, that after Alexander he was the greateſt king: (*i*) *Ille rex poſt Alexandrum maximus.* It is certain, that the Romans never had ſuch a king in arms againſt them. Nor can we deny that he had his great qualities, a vaſt extent of mind, that aſpired at every thing; a ſuperiority of genius, capable of the greateſt undertakings; a conſtancy of ſoul, that the ſevereſt misfortunes could not depreſs; an induſtry and bravery, inexhauſtible in reſources, and which, after the greateſt loſſes, brought him again on the ſtage, on a ſudden, more powerful and formidable than ever. I cannot, however, believe, that he was a conſummate general; that idea does not ſeem

(*i*) Academ. Quæſt. l. iv. n. 8.

* Vir neque ſilendus neque dicendus ſine cura: bello acerrimus; virtute eximius; aliquando fortuna ſemper animo maximus; conſiliis dux, miles manu: odio in Romanos Annibal. *Vel. Paterc.* l. ii. c. 18.

ſeem to reſult from his actions. He obtained great advantages at firſt; but againſt generals, without either merit or experience. When Sylla, Lucullus, and Pompey, oppoſed him, it does not appear he acquired any great honour, either by his addreſs in poſting himſelf to advantage, by his preſence of mind in unexpected emergency, or intrepidity in the heat of action. But ſhould we admit him to have all the qualities of a great captain, he could not but be conſidered with horrour, when we reflect upon the innumerable murthers and parricides of his reign, and that inhuman cruelty, which regarded neither mother, wives, children, nor friends, and which ſacrificed every thing to his inſatiable ambition.

(*k*) Pompey being arrived in Syria, went directly to Damaſcus, with deſign to ſet out from thence to begin at length the war with Arabia. When Aretas, the king of that country, ſaw him upon the point of entering his dominions, he ſent an embaſſy to make his ſubmiſſions.

The troubles of Judæa employed Pompey ſome time. He returned afterwards into Syria, from whence he ſet out for Pontus. Upon his arrival at Amiſus, he found the body of Mithridates there, which Pharnaces his ſon had ſent to him; no doubt, to convince Pompey by his own eyes of the death of an enemy, who had occaſioned him ſo many difficulties and fatigues. He had added great preſents, in order to incline him in his favour. Pompey accepted the preſents; but for the body of Mithridates, looking upon their enmity to be extinguiſhed in death, he did it all the honours due to the remains of a king, ſent it to the city of Sinope to be interred there with the kings of Pontus his anceſtors, who had long been buried in that place, and ordered the ſums that were neceſſary for the ſolemnity of a royal funeral.

In this laſt journey he took poſſeſſion of all the places in the hands of thoſe, to whom Mithridates had confided

(*k*) Joſeph. Antiq. l. xiv. c. 4, 8. & de Bell. Jud. 1, 5. Plut. in Pomp. p. 641. Appian. p. 250. Dion. Caſſ. l. xxxvi. p. 35 & 36.

fided them. He found immenſe riches in ſome of them, eſpecially at Telaurus, where part of Mithridates's moſt valuable effects and precious jewels were kept: his principal arſenal was alſo in the ſame place. Amongſt thoſe rich things were two thouſand cups of onyx, ſet and adorned with gold; with ſo prodigious a quantity of all kinds of plate, fine moveables, and furniture of war for man and horſe, that it coſt the quæſtor or treaſurer of the army, thirty days entire in taking the inventory of them.

Pompey granted Pharnaces the kingdom of Boſphorus, in reward of his parricide, declared him the friend and ally of the Roman people, and marched into the province of Aſia, in order to winter at Epheſus. He gave each of his ſoldiers fifteen hundred drachmas (about 37l. ſterling) and to the officers according to their ſeveral poſts. The total ſum to which his liberalities amounted, all raiſed out of the ſpoils of the enemy, was ſixteen thouſand talents; that is to ſay, about two million, four hundred thouſand pounds; beſides which, he had twenty thouſand more (three millions) to put into the treaſury at Rome, upon the day of his entry.

His triumph continued two days, and was celebrated with extraordinary magnificence. Pompey cauſed three hundred and twenty-four captives of the higheſt diſtinction to march before his chariot: amongſt whom were Ariſtobulus, king of Judæa, with his ſon Antigonus; Olthaces, king of Colchos; Tigranes, the ſon of Tigranes king of Armenia; the ſiſter, five ſons, and two daughters of Mithridates. For want of that king's perſon, his throne, ſceptre, and gold buſto of eight cubits, or twelve feet, in height, were carried in triumph. A. M. 3943. Ant. J. C. 61.

# BOOK THE TWENTY-THIRD.

# THE HISTORY OF EGYPT.

SECT. I. PTOLOMÆUS AULETES *had been placed upon the throne of Egypt in the room of* ALEXANDER. *He is declared the friend and ally of the Roman people by the credit of Cæsar and Pompey, which he purchases at a very great price. In consequence, he loads his subjects with imposts. He is expelled the throne. The Alexandrians make his daughter* BERENICE *queen. He goes to Rome, and by money obtains the voices of the heads of the commonwealth for his re-establishment. He is opposed by an oracle of the Sibyl's; notwithstanding which,* GABINIUS *sets him upon the throne by force of arms, where he remains till his death. The famous* CLEOPATRA, *and her brother, very young, succeed him.*

A. M. 3939. Ant. J. C. 65.

(*m*) WE have seen in what manner Ptolomæus Auletes ascended the throne of Egypt. Alexander, his predecessor, upon his being expelled by his subjects, withdrew to Tyre, where he died some time after. As he left no issue, nor any other legitimate prince of the blood royal, he made the Roman people his heirs. The senate, for the reasons I have repeated elsewhere, did not judge it proper,

(*m*) Vol. VI.

per, at that time, to take poſſeſſion of the dominions left them by Alexander's will; but to ſhow that they did not renounce their right, they reſolved to call in part of the inheritance, and ſent deputies to Tyre, to demand a ſum of money left there by that king at his death.

The pretenſions of the Roman people were under no reſtrictions; and it had been a very inſecure eſtabliſhment to poſſeſs a ſtate, to which they believed they had ſo juſt a claim; unleſs ſome means were found to make them renounce it. All the kings of Egypt had been friends and allies of Rome. To get himſelf declared an ally by the Romans, was a certain means to his being authentically acknowledged king of Egypt by them. But by how much the more important that qualification was to him, ſo much the more difficult was it for him to obtain it. His predeceſſor's will was ſtill freſh in the memory of every body: and as princes are ſeldom pardoned for defects, which do not ſuit their condition, though they are often ſpared for thoſe that are much more hurtful, the ſurname of *player on the flute*, which he had drawn upon himſelf, had ranked him as low in the eſteem of the Romans, as before in that of the Egyptians.

(*n*) He did not, however, deſpair of ſucceſs in his undertakings. All the methods, which he took for the attainment of his end, were a long time ineffectual; and it is likely they would always have been ſo, if Cæſar had never been conſul. That ambitious ſpirit, who believed all means and expedients juſt that conduced to his ends, being immenſely in debt, and finding that king diſpoſed to merit by money what he could not obtain by right, ſold him the alliance of Rome, at as dear a price as he was willing to buy it; and received for the purchaſe, as well for himſelf as for Pompey, whoſe credit was neceſſary to him for obtaining the people's conſent, almoſt ſix thouſand

(*n*) Sueton. in Jul. Cæſ. c. liv. Dion. Caſſ. l. xxxix. p. 97. Strab. l. xvii. p. 796.

thouſand talents, that is to ſay, almoſt nine hundred thouſand pounds. At this price he was declared the friend and ally of the Roman people.

A. M. 3946. Ant. J. C. 58. Though that prince's yearly revenues were twice the amount of this ſum, he could not immediately raiſe the money, without exceedingly over taxing his ſubjects. They were already highly diſcontented by his not claiming the iſle of Cyprus, as an ancient appennage of Egypt, and in caſe of refuſal, declaring war againſt the Romans. In this diſpoſition the extraordinary impoſts he was obliged to exact, having finally exaſperated them, they roſe with ſo much violence, that he was forced to fly for the ſecurity of his life. He concealed his route ſo well, that the Egyptians either believed, or feigned to believe, that he had periſhed. They declared Berenice, the eldeſt of his three daughters, queen, though he had two ſons, becauſe they were both much younger than her.

(o) Ptolemy, however, having landed at the iſle of Rhodes, which was in his way to Rome, was informed that Cato, who after his death was called Cato of Utica, was alſo arrived there ſome time before. That prince, being glad of the opportunity to confer with him upon his own affairs, ſent immediately to let him know his arrival; expecting that he would come directly to viſit him. We may here ſee an inſtance of Roman grandeur, or rather haughtineſs. Cato ordered him to be told, that if he had any thing to ſay to him, he might come to him if he thought fit. Cato did not vouchſafe ſo much as to riſe, when Ptolemy entered his chamber, and ſaluting him only as a common man, bade him ſit down. The king, though in ſome confuſion upon this reception, could not but admire, how ſo much haughtineſs and ſtate could unite in the ſame perſon with the ſimplicity and modeſty that appeared in his habit and all his equipage. But he was very much ſurpriſed, when, upon explaining himſelf, Cato blamed him

(o) Plut. in Cato Utic. p. 776.

him in direct terms, for quitting the fineſt kingdom in the world, to expoſe himſelf to the pride and inſatiable avarice of the Roman grandees, and to ſuffer a thouſand indignities. He did not ſcruple to tell him, that though he ſhould ſell all Egypt, he would not have ſufficient to ſatisfy their avidity. He adviſed him therefore to return to Egypt, and reconcile himſelf with his ſubjects; adding, that he was ready to accompany him thither, and offering him his mediation and good offices.

Ptolemy, upon this diſcourſe, recovered as out of a dream, and having maturely conſidered what the wiſe Roman had told him, perceived the error he had committed in quitting his kingdom, and entertained thoughts of returning to it. But the friends he had with him, being gained by Pompey to make him go to Rome (one may eaſily gueſs with what views) diſſuaded him from following Cato's good counſel. He had time enough to repent it, when he found himſelf in that proud city reduced to ſollicit his buſineſs from gate to gate, like a private perſon.

(*p*) Cæſar, upon whom his principal hopes were founded, was not at Rome: he was at that time making war in Gaul. But Pompey, who was there, gave him an apartment in his houſe, and omitted nothing to ſerve him. Beſides the money he had received from that prince, in conjunction with Cæſar, Ptolemy had formerly cultivated his friendſhip by various ſervices, which he had rendered him during the war with Mithridates, and had maintained eight thouſand horſe for him in that of Judæa. Having therefore made his complaint to the ſenate of the rebellion of his ſubjects, he demanded that they ſhould oblige them to return to their obedience, as the Romans were engaged to do by the alliance granted him. Pompey's faction obtained him their compliance. The conſul Lentulus, to whom Cilicia, ſeparated from Egypt only by the coaſt of Syria, had fallen by

(*p*) Dion. Caſſ. l. xxxix. p. 97, 98. Plin. l. xxxiii. c. 10. Cic. ad Famil. Id. in Piſo. n. 48—50. Id. pro Cæl. n. 23, 24.

by lot, was charged with the re-eſtabliſhment of Ptolemy upon the throne.

A. M. 3947. Ant. J. C. 57. But before his conſulſhip expired, the Egyptians, having been informed that their king was not dead as they believed, and that he was gone to Rome, ſent thither a ſolemn embaſſy, to juſtify the revolt before the ſenate. That embaſſy conſiſted of more than an hundred perſons, of whom the chief was a celebrated philoſopher, named Dion, who had conſiderable friends at Rome. Ptolemy, having received advice of this, found means to deſtroy moſt of thoſe ambaſſadors, either by poiſon or the ſword, and intimidated thoſe ſo much, whom he could neither corrupt nor kill, that they were afraid either to acquit themſelves of their commiſſion, or to demand juſtice for ſo many murthers. But as all the world knew this cruelty, it made him as highly odious as he was before contemptible: and his immenſe profuſions, in gaining the pooreſt and moſt ſelf-intereſted ſenators, became ſo publick, that nothing elſe was talked of throughout the city.

So notorious a contempt of the laws, and ſuch an exceſs of audacity, excited the indignation of all the perſons of integrity in the ſenate. M. Favonius the ſtoick philoſopher was the firſt in it, who declared himſelf againſt Ptolemy. Upon his requeſt it was reſolved, that Dion ſhould be ordered to attend, in order to their knowing the truth from his own mouth. But the king's party, compoſed of that of Pompey and Lentulus, of ſuch as he had corrupted with money, and of thoſe who had lent him ſums to corrupt others, acted ſo openly in his favour, that Dion did not dare to appear; and Ptolemy, having cauſed him alſo to be killed ſome ſmall time after, though he who did the murther was accuſed juridically, the king was diſcharged of it, upon maintaining, that he had juſt cauſe for the action.

Whether that prince thought, that nothing further at Rome demanded his preſence, or apprehended receiving ſome affront, hated as he was, if he continued there

there any longer, he ſet out from thence ſome few days after, and retired to Epheſus, into the temple of the goddeſs, to wait there the deciſion of his deſtiny.

His affair, in effect, made more noiſe than ever at Rome. One of the tribunes of the people, named C. Cato, an active, enterpriſing young man, who did not want eloquence, declared himſelf, in frequent harangues, againſt Ptolemy and Lentulus, and was hearkened to by the people with ſingular pleaſure, and extraordinary applauſe.

In order to put a new ſcheme in motion, he waited till the new conſuls were elected, and as ſoon as Lentulus had quitted that office, he propoſed to the people an oracle of the Sibyl's, which imported: *If a king of Egypt, having occaſion for aid, applies to you, you ſhall not refuſe him your amity: but, however, you ſhall not give him any troops; for if you do, you will ſuffer and hazard much.* A. M. 3948. Ant. J. C. 56.

The uſual form was to communicate this kind of oracles firſt to the ſenate, in order that it might be examined, whether they were proper to be divulged. But Cato, apprehending that the king's faction might occaſion the paſſing a reſolution there to ſuppreſs this, which was ſo oppoſite to that prince, immediately preſented the prieſts, with whom the ſacred books were depoſited to the people, and obliged them, by the authority which his office of tribune gave him, to expoſe what they had found in them to the publick, without demanding the ſenate's opinion.

This was a new ſtroke of thunder to Ptolemy and Lentulus. The words of the Sibyl were too expreſs not to make all the impreſſion upon the vulgar, which their enemies deſired. So that Lentulus, whoſe conſulſhip was expired, not being willing to receive the affront to his face, of having the ſenate's decree revoked, by which he was appointed to re-inſtate Ptolemy, ſet out immediately for his province in quality of proconſul.

He was not deceived. Some days after, one of the new conſuls, named Marcellinus, the declared enemy

of Pompey, having propoſed the oracle to the ſenate, it was decreed, that regard ſhould be had to it, and that it appeared dangerous for the commonwealth to re-eſtabliſh the king of Egypt by force.

We muſt not believe there was any perſon in the ſenate ſo ſimple, or rather ſo ſtupid, to have any faith in ſuch an oracle. Nobody doubted, but that it had been contrived for the preſent conjuncture, and was the work of ſome ſecret intrigue of policy. But it had been publiſhed and approved in the aſſembly of the people, credulous and ſuperſtitious to exceſs, and the ſenate could paſs no other judgement upon it.

This new incident obliged Ptolemy to change his meaſures. Seeing that Lentulus had too many enemies at Rome, he abandoned the decree, by which he had been commiſſioned for his re-eſtabliſhment, and demanding by Ammonius his ambaſſador, whom he had left at Rome, that Pompey ſhould be appointed to execute the ſame commiſſion; becauſe it not being poſſible to execute it with open force, upon account of the oracle, he judged with reaſon, that it was neceſſary to ſubſtitute, in the room of force, a perſon of great authority. And Pompey was at that time at the higheſt pitch of his glory, from his ſucceſs in having deſtroyed Mithridates, the greateſt and moſt powerful king Aſia had ſeen ſince Alexander.

The affair was deliberated upon in the ſenate, and debated with great vivacity by the different parties that roſe up in it. (q) The difference of opinions cauſed ſeveral ſittings to be loſt without any determination. Cicero never quitted the intereſt of Lentulus his intimate friend, who, during his conſulſhip, had infinitely contributed to his being recalled from baniſhment. But what means was there to render him any ſervice, in the condition things ſtood? And what could that proconſul do againſt a great kingdom, without uſing the force of arms, which was expreſsly forbad by the oracle? In this manner thought people of little wit and ſubtlety, that were not uſed to conſider things in dif-

(q) Cic. ad Famil. l. i. epiſt. 7.

different lights. The oracle only prohibited giving the king any troops for his re-eſtabliſhment. Could not Lentulus have left him in ſome place near the frontiers, and went however with a good army to beſiege Alexandria. After he had taken it he might have returned, leaving a ſtrong garriſon in the place, and then ſent the king thither, who would have found all things diſpoſed for his reception without violence or troops. This was Cicero's advice; to confirm which, I ſhall repeat his own words, taken from a letter written by him at that time to Lentulus. "You "are the beſt judge (ſays he) as you are maſter of "Cilicia and Cyprus, of what you can undertake and "effect. If it ſeems practicable for you to take Alex-"andria, and poſſeſs yourſelf of the reſt of Egypt, "it is without doubt, both for your own and the "honour of the commonwealth, that you ſhould go "thither with your fleet and army, leaving the king "at Ptolemais, or in ſome other neighbouring place; "in order, that after you have appeaſed the revolt, "and left good garriſons where neceſſary, that prince "may ſafely return thither. * In this manner you will "re-inſtate him, according to the ſenate's firſt decree, "and he be reſtored without troops, which our zealots "aſſure us is the ſenſe of the Sibyl." Would one believe that a grave magiſtrate, in an affair ſo important as that in the preſent queſtion, ſhould be capable of an evaſion, which appears ſo little conſiſtent with the integrity and probity upon which Cicero valued himſelf? It was, becauſe he reckoned the oracle only pretended to be the Sibyl's, as indeed it was, that is to ſay, a mere contrivance and impoſture.

Lentulus, ſtopped by the difficulties of that enterpriſe, which were great and real, was afraid to engage in it, and took the advice Cicero gave him in the concluſion of his letter, where he repreſented: "That



* Ita fore ut per te reſtituatur, quemadmodum initio ſenatus cenſuit; & ſine multitudine reducatur, quemadmodum homines religioſi Sibyllæ placere dixerunt.

" all * the world would judge of his conduct from the " event: that therefore he had only to take his " measures so well, as to assure his success, and that " otherwise he would do better not to undertake it."

Gabinius, who commanded in Syria in the quality of proconsul, was less apprehensive and cautious. Though every proconsul was prohibited by an express law to quit his province, or declare any war whatsoever, even upon the nearest borderer, without an express order of the senate, he had marched to the aid of Mithridates, prince of Parthia, expelled Media by the king his brother, which kingdom had fallen to him by division. (r) He had already passed the Euphrates with his army for that purpose, when Ptolemy joined him with letters from Pompey, their common friend and patron, who had very lately been declared consul for the year ensuing. By those letters he conjured Gabinius to do his utmost in favour of the proposals that prince should make him, with regard to his re-establishment in his kingdom. However dangerous that conduct might be, the authority of Pompey, and still more, the hope of considerable gain, made Gabinius begin to waver. The lively remonstrances of Anthony, who sought occasions to signalize himself, and was besides inclined to please Ptolemy, whose intreaties flattered his ambition, fully determined him. This was the famous Mark Anthony, who afterwards formed the second triumvirate with Octavius and Lepidus. Gabinius had engaged him to follow him into Syria, by giving him the command of his cavalry. The more dangerous the enterprise, the more right Gabinius thought he had to make Ptolemy pay dear for it. The latter, who found no difficulty in agreeing to any terms, offered him for himself and the army ten thousand talents, or fifteen hundred thousand pounds, the greatest part to be advanced immediately

(r) Appian. in Syr. p. 120. & in Parth. p. 134. Plut. in Anton. p. 916, 917.

* Ex eventu homines de tuo consilio esse judicaturos, videmus ——Nos quidem hoc sentimus; si exploratum tibi sit, posse te illius regni potiri, non esse cunctandum; sin dubium non esse oportet, non esse conandum.

mediately in ready money, and the reſt as ſoon as he ſhould be re-inſtated. Gabinius accepted the offer without heſitation.

(*s*) Egypt had continued under the government of queen Berenice. As ſoon as ſhe aſcended the throne, the Egyptians had ſent to offer the crown and Berenice to Antiochus Aſiaticus in Syria, who, on his mother Selena's ſide, was the neareſt heir male. The ambaſſadors found him dead, and returned: they brought an account, that his brother Seleucus, ſurnamed Cybioſactes, was ſtill alive. The ſame offers were made to him, which he accepted. He was a prince of mean and ſordid inclinations, and had no thoughts but of amaſſing money. His firſt care was, to cauſe the body of Alexander the Great to be put into a coffin of glaſs, in order to ſeiſe that of gold, in which it had lain untouched till then. This action, and many others of a like nature, having rendered him equally odious to his queen and ſubjects, ſhe cauſed him to be ſtrangled ſoon after. He was the laſt prince of the race of the Seleucides. She afterwards eſpouſed Archelaus, high-prieſt of Comana in Pontus, who called himſelf the ſon of the great Mithridates, though, in effect, only the ſon of that prince's chief general.

(*t*) Gabinius, after having re-paſſed the Euphrates, and croſſed Paleſtine, marched directly into Egypt. What was moſt to be feared in this war, was the way by which they muſt neceſſarily march to Peluſium. For they could not avoid paſſing plains covered with ſands of ſuch a depth, as was terrible to think on, and ſo dry, that there was not a ſingle drop of water the whole length of the moors of Serbonida. Anthony, who was ſent before with the horſe, not only ſeiſed the paſſes, but having taken Peluſium, the key of Egypt on that ſide, with the whole garriſon, he made the way ſecure for the reſt of the army, and gave his general great hopes of the expedition.



(*s*) Strab. l. xii. p. 538. Id. l. xvii. p. 794—796. Dion. l. xxxix. p. 115—117. Cic. in. Piſon. n. 49, 50. (*t*) Plut. in Anton. p. 916, 917.

The enemy found a conſiderable advantage in the deſire of glory which poſſeſſed Anthony. For Ptolemy was no ſooner entered Peluſium, than, out of the violence of his hate and reſentment, he would have put all the Egyptians in it to the ſword. But Anthony, who rightly judged that act of cruelty would revert upon himſelf, oppoſed it, and prevented Ptolemy from executing his deſign. In all the battles and encounters which immediately followed one another, he not only gave proofs of his great valour, but diſtinguiſhed himſelf by all the conduct of a great general.

As ſoon as Gabinius received advice of Anthony's good ſucceſs, he entered the heart of Egypt. It was in winter, when the waters of the Nile are very low, the propereſt time in conſequence for the conqueſt of it. Archelaus, who was brave, able, and experienced, did all that could be done in his defence, and diſputed his ground very well with the enemy. After he quitted the city, in order to march againſt the Romans, when it was neceſſary to encamp and break ground for the entrenchments, the Egyptians, accuſtomed to live an idle and voluptuous life, raiſed an outcry, that Archelaus ſhould employ the mercenaries in ſuch work at the expence of the publick. What could be expected from ſuch troops in a battle? They were, in effect, ſoon put to the route. Archelaus was killed, fighting valiantly. Anthony, who had been his particular friend and gueſt, having found his body upon the field of battle, adorned it in a royal manner, and ſolemnized his obſequies with great magnificence. By this action he left behind him a great name in Alexandria, and acquired amongſt the Romans, who ſerved with him in this war, the reputation of a man of ſingular valour and exceeding generoſity.

Egypt was ſoon reduced, and obliged to receive Auletes, who took entire poſſeſſion of his dominions. In order to ſtrengthen him in it, Gabinius left him ſome Roman troops for the guard of his perſon. Thoſe troops contracted at Alexandria the manners

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and cuſtoms of the country, and gave into the luxury and effeminacy which reigned there in almoſt every city. Auletes put his daughter Berenice to death, for having worn the crown during his exile; and afterwards got rid, in the ſame manner, of all the rich perſons who had been of the adverſe party to him. He had occaſion for the confiſcation of their eſtates to make up the ſum he had promiſed to Gabinius, to whoſe aid he was indebted for his re-eſtabliſhment.

(*u*) The Egyptians ſuffered all theſe violences without murmuring. But ſome days after, a Roman ſoldier having accidentally killed a cat, neither the fear of Gabinius, nor the authority of Ptolemy could prevent the people from tearing him to pieces upon the ſpot, to avenge the inſult done to the gods of the country; for cats were of that number.

(*x*) Nothing further is known in relation to the life of Ptolemy Auletes, except that C. Rabirius Poſthumus, who had either lent him, or cauſed to be lent him, the greateſt part of the ſums he had borrowed at Rome, having gone to him, in order to his being paid when he was entirely re-inſtated: that prince gave him to underſtand, that he deſpaired of ſatisfying him, unleſs he would conſent to take upon him the care of his revenues, by which means he might re-imburſe himſelf by little and little with his own hands. The unfortunate creditor having accepted that offer, out of fear of loſing his debt if he refuſed it, the king ſoon found a colour for cauſing him to be impriſoned, though one of the oldeſt and deareſt of Cæſar's friends, and though Pompey was in ſome meaſure ſecurity for the debt, as the money was lent, and the obligations executed in his preſence, and by his procurement, in a country-houſe of his near Alba.

Rabirius thought himſelf too happy in being able to eſcape from priſon and Egypt, more miſerable than he went thither. To complete his diſgrace, he was proſecuted in form as ſoon as he returned to Rome, for having aided Ptolemy in corrupting the ſenate, by



(*u*) Diod. Sic. l. i. p. 74, 75. (*x*) Cic. pro Rabir. Poſth.

the ſums he had lent him for that uſe; of having diſhonoured his quality of Roman knight, by the employment he had accepted in Egypt; and, laſtly, of having ſhared in the money which Gabinius brought from thence, with whom it was alledged, he had a fellow-feeling. Cicero's diſcourſe in his defence, which we ſtill have, is an eternal monument of the ingratitude and perfidy of this unworthy king.

A. M. 3953. Ant. J. C. 51. (y) Ptolemy Auletes died in the peaceable poſſeſſion of the kingdom of Egypt, about four years after his re-eſtabliſhment. He left two ſons and two daughters. He gave his crown to the eldeſt ſon and daughter, and ordered by his will, that they ſhould marry together, according to the cuſtom of that houſe, and govern jointly. And becauſe they were both very young (for the daughter, who was the eldeſt, was only ſeventeen years of age) he left them under the tuition of the Roman ſenate. This was the famous Cleopatra, whoſe hiſtory it remains for us to relate. (z) We find the people appointed Pompey the young king's guardian, who ſome years after ſo baſely ordered him to be put to death.

(y) Cæſar de Bello Civ. l. v. (z) Eutrop. l. vi.

SECT.

SECT. II. POTHINUS *and* ACHILLAS, *miniſters of the young king, expel* CLEOPATRA. *She raiſes troops to re-eſtabliſh herſelf.* POMPEY, *after having been overthrown at Pharſalia, retires into Egypt. He is aſſaſſinated there.* CÆSAR, *who purſued him, arrives at Alexandria, where he is informed of his death, which he ſeems to lament. He endeavours to reconcile the brother and ſiſter, and for that purpoſe ſends for* CLEOPATRA, *of whom he ſoon becomes enamoured. Great commotions ariſe at Alexandria, and ſeveral battles are fought between the Egyptians and* CÆSAR's *troops, wherein the latter have almoſt always the advantage. The king having been drowned in flying after a ſea-fight, all Egypt ſubmits to* CÆSAR. *He ſets* CLEOPATRA, *with her younger brother upon the throne, and returns to Rome.*

(a) LITTLE is known of the beginning of Cleopatra's and her brother's reign. That prince was a minor, under the tuition of Pothinus the eunuch, and of Achillas the general of his army. Thoſe two miniſters, no doubt, to engroſs all affairs to themſelves, had deprived Cleopatra, in the king's name, of the ſhare in the ſovereignty left her by the will of Auletes. Injured in this manner, ſhe went into Syria and Paleſtine, to raiſe troops in thoſe countries, in order to aſſert her rights by force of arms. A. M. 3956. Ant. J. C. 48.

It was exactly at this conjuncture of the difference between the brother and ſiſter, that Pompey, after having loſt the battle of Pharſalia, fled to Egypt; conceiving, that he ſhould find there an open and aſſured aſylum in his misfortunes. He had been the protector of Auletes, the father of the reigning king, and it was ſolely to his credit he was indebted for his re-eſtabliſhment. He was in hopes of finding the ſon grateful, and of being powerfully aſſiſted by him. When

(a) Plut. in Pomp. p. 659—662. Id. in Cæſ. p. 730, 731. Appian. de Bel. Civ. p. 480—484. Cæſ. de Bel. Civ. l. iii. Diod. l. xliii. p. 200—206.

When he arrived, Ptolemy was upon the coaſt with his army, between Peluſium and mount Caſius, and Cleopatra at no great diſtance, at the head of her troops alſo. Pompey, on approaching the coaſt, ſent to Ptolemy to demand permiſſion to land, and enter his kingdom.

The two miniſters, Pothinus and Achillas, conſulted with Theodotus, the rhetorician, the young king's præceptor, and with ſome others, what anſwer they ſhould make; Pompey, in the mean time, waited the reſult of that council, and choſe rather to expoſe himſelf to the deciſion of three unworthy perſons, who governed the prince, than to owe his ſafety to Cæſar, who was his father-in-law, and the greateſt of the Romans. This council differed in opinion; ſome were for receiving him, others for having him told to ſeek a retreat elſewhere. Theodotus approved neither of theſe methods, and diſplaying all his eloquence, undertook to demonſtrate, that there was no other choice to be made, than that of ridding the world of him. His reaſon was, becauſe if they received him, Cæſar would never forgive the having aſſiſted his enemy: if they ſent him away without aid, and affairs ſhould take a turn in his favour, he would not fail to revenge himſelf upon them for their refuſal. That therefore there was no ſecurity for them, but in putting him to death, by which means they would gain Cæſar's friendſhip, and prevent the other from ever doing them any hurt: for, ſaid he, according to the proverb, *Dead men do not bite.*

This advice carried it, as being, in their ſenſe, the wiſeſt and moſt ſafe. Septimus, a Roman officer in the ſervice of the king of Egypt, and ſome others, were charged with putting it into execution. They went to take Pompey on board a ſhallop, under the pretext that great veſſels could not approach the ſhore without difficulty. The troops were drawn up on the ſea-ſide, as with deſign to do honour to Pompey, with Ptolemy at their head. The perfidious Septimus tendered his hand to Pompey in the name of his maſter, and

and bade him come to a king, his friend, whom he ought to regard as his ward and ſon. Pompey then embraced his wife Cornelia, who was already in tears for his death; and after having repeated theſe verſes of Sophocles, *Every man who enters the court of a tyrant becomes his ſlave, though free before*, he went into the ſhallop. When they ſaw themſelves near the ſhore, they ſtabbed him before the king's eyes, cut off his head, and threw his body upon the ſtrand, where it had no other funeral than what one of his freed-men gave it, with the aſſiſtance of an old Roman, who was there by chance. They raiſed him a wretched funeral-pile, and covered him with ſome fragments of an old wreck, that had been driven aſhore there.

Cornelia had ſeen Pompey maſſacred before her eyes. It is eaſier to imagine the condition of a woman in the height of grief from ſo tragical an object, than to deſcribe it. Thoſe who were in her galley, and in two other ſhips in company with it, made the coaſt reſound with the cries they raiſed, and weighing anchor immediately, ſet ſail before the wind, which blew freſh as ſoon as they got out to ſea: this prevented the Egyptians, who were getting ready to chaſe them, from purſuing their deſign.

Cæſar made all poſſible haſte to arrive in Egypt, whither he ſuſpected Pompey had retired, and where he was in hopes of finding him alive. That he might be there the ſooner, he carried very few troops with him; only eight hundred horſe, and three thouſand two hundred foot. He left the reſt of his army in Greece and Aſia Minor, under his lieutenant-generals, with orders to make all the advantages of his victory it would admit, and to eſtabliſh his authority in all thoſe countries. * As for his perſon, confiding in his reputation, and the ſucceſs of his arms at Pharſalia, and reckoning all places ſecure for him, he made no ſcruple to land at Alexandria with the few people he

* Cæſar confiſus fama rerum geſtarum, infirmis auxiliis proficiſci non dubitaverat; atque omnem ſibi locum tutum fore exiſtimabat. *Cæſ.*

he had. He was very nigh paying dear for his temerity.

Upon his arrival he was informed of Pompey's death, and found the city in great confuſion. Theodotus, believing he ſhould do him an exceeding pleaſure, preſented him the head of that illuſtrious fugitive. He wept at ſeeing it, and turned away his eyes from a ſpectacle that gave him horrour. He even cauſed it to be interred with all the uſual ſolemnities. And the better to expreſs his eſteem for Pompey, and the reſpect he had for his memory, he received with great kindneſs, and loaded with favours, all who had adhered to him then in Egypt; and wrote to his friends at Rome, that the higheſt and moſt grateful advantage of his victory, was to find every day ſome new occaſion to preſerve the lives, and do ſervices to ſome citizens, who had bor'n arms againſt him.

The commotions increaſed every day at Alexandria, and abundance of murthers were committed there; the city having neither law nor government, becauſe without a maſter. Cæſar, perceiving that the ſmall number of troops with him were far from being ſufficient to awe an inſolent and ſeditious populace, gave orders for the legions he had in Aſia to march thither. It was not in his power to leave Egypt, becauſe of the Eteſian winds, which in that country blow continually in the dog-days, and prevent all veſſels from quitting Alexandria; thoſe winds are then always full north. Not to loſe time, he demanded the payment of the money due to him from Auletes, and took cognizance of the difference between Ptolemy and his ſiſter Cleopatra.

We have ſeen, that when Cæſar was conſul for the firſt time, Auletes had gained him, by the promiſe of ſix thouſand talents, and by that means had aſſured himſelf of the throne, and been declared the friend and ally of the Romans. The king had paid him only a part of that ſum, and had given him an obligation for the remainder.

Cæſar therefore demanded what was unpaid, which he

he wanted for the ſubſiſtence of his troops, and exacted with rigour. Pothinus, Ptolemy's firſt miniſter, employed various ſtratagems to make this rigour appear ſtill greater than it really was. He plundered the temples of all the gold and ſilver to be found in them, and made the king, and all the great perſons of the kingdom, eat out of earthen or wooden veſſels; inſinuating underhand, that Cæſar had ſeiſed upon all their ſilver and gold plate, in order to render him odious to the populace by ſuch reports, which did not want appearance, though entirely groundleſs.

But what finally incenſed the Egyptians againſt Cæſar, and made them at laſt take arms, was the haughtineſs with which he acted as judge between Ptolemy and Cleopatra, in cauſing them to be cited to appear before him for the deciſion of their difference. We ſhall ſoon ſee upon what he founded his authority for proceeding in that manner. He therefore decreed in form, that they ſhould diſband their armies, ſhould appear and plead their cauſe before him, and receive ſuch ſentence as he ſhould paſs between them. This order was looked upon in Egypt as a violation of the royal dignity, which being independent, acknowledged no ſuperior, and could be judged by no tribunal. Cæſar replied to theſe complaints, that he acted only in virtue of being arbiter by the will of Auletes, who had put his children under the tuition of the ſenate and people of Rome, of which the whole authority then veſted in his perſon, in quality of conſul. That as guardian, he had a right to arbitrate between them; and that all he pretended to, as executor of the will, was to eſtabliſh peace between the brother and ſiſter. This explanation having facilitated the affair, it was at length brought before Cæſar, and advocates were choſen to plead the cauſe.

But Cleopatra, who knew Cæſar's foible, believed her preſence would be more perſuaſive than any advocate ſhe could employ with her judge. She cauſed him to be told, that ſhe perceived, that thoſe ſhe employed in her behalf, betrayed her, and demanded

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his permiſſion to appear in perſon. Plutarch ſays, it was Cæſar himſelf who preſſed her to come and plead her cauſe.

That princeſs took nobody with her, of all her friends, but Apollodorus the Sicilian, got into a little boat, and arrived at the bottom of the walls of the citadel of Alexandria, when it was quite dark at night. Finding that there was no means of entering without being known, ſhe thought of this ſtratagem. She laid herſelf at length in the midſt of a bundle of clothes. Apollodorus wrapped it up in a cloth, tied it up with a thong, and in that manner carried it through the port of the citadel to Cæſar's apartment, who was far from being diſpleaſed with the ſtratagem. The firſt ſight of ſo beautiful a perſon, had all the effect upon him ſhe had deſired.

Cæſar ſent the next day for Ptolemy, and preſſed him to take her again, and be reconciled with her. Ptolemy ſaw plainly that his judge was become his adverſary; and having learned that his ſiſter was then in the palace, and in Cæſar's own apartment, he quitted it in the utmoſt fury, and in the open ſtreet took the diadem off his head, tore it to pieces, and threw it on the ground; crying out, with his face bathed in tears, that he was betrayed, and relating the circumſtances to the multitude who aſſembled round him. In a moment the whole city was in motion. He put himſelf at the head of the populace, and led them on tumultuouſly to charge Cæſar with all the fury natural on ſuch occaſions.

The Roman ſoldiers, whom Cæſar had with him, ſecured the perſon of Ptolemy. But as all the reſt, who knew nothing of what paſſed, were diſperſed in the ſeveral quarters of that great city, Cæſar had infallibly been overpowered, and torn to pieces by that furious populace, if he had not had the preſence of mind to ſhow himſelf to them from a part of the palace, ſo high, that he had nothing to fear upon it: From hence he aſſured them, that they would be fully

ſatisfied

ſatisfied with the judgement he ſhould paſs. Thoſe promiſes appeaſed the Egyptians a little.

The next day he brought out Ptolemy and Cleopatra into an aſſembly of the people, ſummoned by his order. After having cauſed the will of the late king to be read, he decreed, as tutor and arbitrator, that Ptolemy and Cleopatra ſhould reign jointly in Egypt, according to the intent of that will; and that Ptolemy the younger ſon, and Arſinoe the younger daughter, ſhould reign in Cyprus. He added the laſt article to appeaſe the people; for it was purely a gift he made them, as the Romans were actually in poſſeſſion of that iſland. But he feared the effects of the Alexandrians fury; and to extricate himſelf out of danger, was the reaſon of his making that conceſſion.

The whole world were ſatisfied and charmed with this decree, except only Pothinus. As it was he who had occaſioned the breach between Cleopatra and her brother, and the expulſion of that princeſs from the throne, he had reaſon to apprehend, that the conſequences of this accommodation would prove fatal to him. To prevent the effect of Cæſar's decree, he inſpired the people with new ſubjects of jealouſy and diſcontent. He gave out, that Cæſar had only granted this decree by force, and through fear, which would not long ſubſiſt; and that his true deſign was to place only Cleopatra upon the throne. This was what the Egyptians exceedingly feared, not being able to endure that a woman ſhould govern them alone, and have all authority to herſelf. When he ſaw that the people came into his views, he made Achillas advance at the head of the army from Peluſium, in order to drive Cæſar out of Alexandria. The approach of that army put all things into their firſt confuſion. Achillas, who had twenty thouſand good troops, deſpiſed Cæſar's ſmall number, and believed he ſhould overpower him immediately. But Cæſar poſted his men ſo well in the ſtreets, and upon the avenues of the quarter in his poſſeſſion, that he found no difficulty in ſupporting their attack. A. M. 3953. Ant. J. C. 47.

When

When they ſaw they could not force him, they changed their meaſures, and marched towards the port, with deſign to make themſelves maſters of the fleet, to cut off his communication with the ſea, and to prevent him, in conſequence, from receiving ſuccours and convoys on that ſide. But Cæſar again fruſtrated their deſign, by cauſing the Egyptian fleet to be ſet on fire, and by poſſeſſing himſelf of the tower of Pharos, which he garriſoned. By this means he preſerved and ſecured his communication with the ſea, without which he had been ruined effectually. Some of the veſſels on fire came ſo near the quay, that the flames catched the neighbouring houſes, from whence they ſpread throughout the whole quarter, called Bruchion. It was at this time the famous library was conſumed, which had been the work of ſo many kings, and in which there were four hundred thouſand volumes. What a loſs was this to literature!

Cæſar, ſeeing ſo dangerous a war upon his hands, ſent into all the neighbouring countries for aid. He wrote, amongſt others, to Domitius Calvinus, whom he had left to command in Aſia Minor, and ſignified to him his danger. That general immediately detached two legions, the one by land, and the other by ſea. That which went by ſea arrived in time; the other, that marched by land, did not go thither at all. Before it had got there the war was at an end. But Cæſar was beſt ſerved by Mithridates the Pergamenian, whom he ſent into Syria and Cilicia. For he brought him the troops which extricated him out of danger, as we ſhall ſee in the ſequel.

Whilſt he waited the aids he had ſent for, that he might not fight an army ſo ſuperior in number, till he thought fit, he cauſed the quarter in his poſſeſſion to be fortified. He ſurrounded it with walls, and flanked it with towers and other works. Thoſe lines included the palace, a theatre very near it, which he made uſe of as a citadel, and the way that led to the port.

Ptolemy

Ptolemy all this while was in Cæſar's hands; and Pothinus, his governour and firſt miniſter, who was of intelligence with Achillas, gave him advice of all that paſſed, and encouraged him to puſh the ſiege with vigour. One of his letters was at laſt intercepted, and his treaſon being thereby diſcovered, Cæſar ordered him to be put to death.

Ganymedes, another eunuch of the palace, who educated Arſinoe the youngeſt of the king's ſiſters, apprehending the ſame fate, becauſe he had ſhared in that treaſon, carried off the young princeſs, and eſcaped into the camp of the Egyptians; who not having, till then, any of the royal family at their head, were overjoyed at her preſence, and proclaimed her queen. But Ganymedes, who entertained thoughts of ſupplanting Achillas, cauſed that general to be accuſed of having given up the fleet to Cæſar that had been ſet on fire by the Romans, which occaſioned that general's being put to death, and the command of the army to be transferred to him. He took alſo upon him the adminiſtration of all other affairs; and undoubtedly did not want capacity for the employment of a prime-miniſter, probity only excepted, which is often reckoned little or no qualification. For he had all the neceſſary penetration and activity, and contrived a thouſand artful ſtratagems to diſtreſs Cæſar during the continuance of this war.

For inſtance, he found means to ſpoil all the freſh water in his quarter, and was very near deſtroying him by that means. For there was no other freſh water in Alexandria, but that of the Nile. * In every houſe were vaulted reſervoirs, where it was kept. Every year, upon the great ſwell of the Nile, the water of that river came in by a canal, which had been cut for that uſe, and by a ſluice, made on purpoſe, was turned into the vaulted reſervoirs, which were the ciſterns of the city, where it grew clear by degrees. The maſters of houſes and their families drank of



* *There are to this day exactly the ſame kind of caves at Alexandria, which are filled once a year, as of old.* Thevenot's Travels.

this water; but the poorer ſort of people were forced to drink the running water, which was muddy and very unwholeſome; for there were no ſprings in the city. Thoſe caverns were made in ſuch a manner, that they all had communication with each other. This proviſion of water ſerved for the whole year. Every houſe had an opening, not unlike the mouth of a well, through which the water was taken up either in buckets or pitchers. Ganymedes cauſed all the communications with the caverns in the quarters of Cæſar to be ſtopped up; and then found means to turn the ſea-water into the latter, and thereby ſpoiled all his freſh water. As ſoon as they perceived that the water was ſpoiled, Cæſar's ſoldiers made ſuch a noiſe, and raiſed ſuch a tumult, that he would have been obliged to abandon his quarter, very much to his diſadvantage, if he had not immediately thought of ordering wells to be ſunk, where, at laſt, ſprings were found, which ſupplied them with water enough to make them amends for that which was ſpoiled.

After that, upon Cæſar's receiving advice, that the legion Calvinius had ſent by ſea was arrived upon the coaſt of Libya, which was not very diſtant, he advanced with his whole fleet to convoy it ſafely to Alexandria. Ganymedes was appriſed of this, and immediately aſſembled all the Egyptian ſhips he could get, in order to attack him upon his return. A battle actually enſued between the two fleets. Cæſar had the advantage, and brought his legion without danger into the port of Alexandria; and, had not the night came on, the ſhips of the enemy would not have eſcaped.

To repair that loſs, Ganymedes drew together all the ſhips in the mouths of the Nile, and formed a new fleet, with which he entered the port of Alexandria. A ſecond action was unavoidable. The Alexandrians climbed in throngs to the tops of the houſes next the port, to be ſpectators to the fight, and expected the ſucceſs with fear and trembling; lifting up their hands to heaven, to implore the aſſiſtance of the

the gods. The all of the Romans was at ſtake, to whom there was no reſource left if they loſt this battle. Cæſar was again victorious. The Rhodians, by their valour and ſkill in naval affairs, contributed exceedingly to this victory.

Cæſar, to make the beſt of it, endeavoured to ſeiſe the iſle of Pharos, where he landed his troops after the battle, and to poſſeſs himſelf of the mole, called the Heptaſtadion, by which it was joined to the continent. But after having obtained ſeveral advantages, he was repulſed with the loſs of more than eight hundred men, and was very near falling himſelf in his retreat. For the ſhip in which he had deſigned to get off, being ready to ſink with the too great number of people who had entered it with him, he threw himſelf into the ſea, and with great difficulty ſwam to the next ſhip. Whilſt he was in the ſea, he held one hand above the water, in which were papers of conſequence, and ſwam with the other, ſo that they were not ſpoiled.

The Alexandrians, ſeeing that ill ſucceſs itſelf only ſerved to give Cæſar's troops new courage, entertained thoughts of making peace, or at leaſt diſſembled ſuch a diſpoſition. They ſent deputies to demand their king of him; aſſuring him, that his preſence alone would put an end to all differences. Cæſar, who well knew their ſubtle and deceitful character, was not at a loſs to comprehend their profeſſions; but as he hazarded nothing in giving them up their king's perſon, and if they failed in their promiſes, the fault would be entirely on their ſide, he thought it incumbent on him to grant their demand. He exhorted the young prince to take the advantage of this opportunity to inſpire his ſubjects with ſentiments of peace and equity; to redreſs the evils with which a war very imprudently undertaken, diſtreſſed his dominions; to approve himſelf worthy of the confidence he repoſed in him, by giving him his liberty; and to ſhow his gratitude for the ſervices he had rendered his father.

* Ptolemy, early inſtructed by his maſters in the art of diſſimulation and deceit, begged of Cæſar, with tears in his eyes, not to deprive him of his preſence, which was a much greater ſatisfaction to him, than to reign over others. The ſequel ſoon explained how much ſincerity there was in thoſe tears and profeſſions of amity. He was no ſooner at the head of his troops, than he renewed hoſtilities with more vigour than ever. The Egyptians endeavoured, by the means of their fleet, to cut off Cæſar's proviſions entirely. This occaſioned a new fight at ſea near Canopus, in which Cæſar was again victorious. When this battle was fought, Mithridates of Pergamus was upon the point of arriving with the army, which he was bringing to the aid of Cæſar.

(*f*) He had been ſent into Syria and Cilicia to aſſemble all the troops he could, and to march them to Egypt. He acquitted himſelf of his commiſſion with ſuch diligence and prudence, that he had ſoon formed a conſiderable army. Antipater, the Idumæan, contributed very much towards it. He had not only joined him with three thouſand Jews, but engaged ſeveral neighbouring princes of Arabia and Cœloſyria to ſend him troops. Mithridates, with Antipater, who accompanied him in perſon, marched into Egypt, and upon arriving before Peluſium, they carried that place by ſtorm. They were indebted principally to Antipater's bravery for the taking of this city. For he was the firſt that mounted the breach, and got upon the wall, and thereby opened the way for thoſe who followed him to carry the town.

On their route from thence to Alexandria, it was neceſſary to paſs through the country of Onion, of which the Jews, who inhabited it, had ſeiſed all the paſſes. The army was there put to a ſtand, and their whole deſign was upon the point of miſcarrying, if

(*f*) Joſeph. Antiq. l. xiv. c. 14 & 15.

* Regius animus diſciplinis fallaciſſimus eruditus, ne à gentis ſuæ moribus degeneraret, ſiens orare contra Cæſarem cœpit, ne ſe. demitteret: non enim regnum ipſum ſibi conſpectu Cæſaris eſſe jucundius. *Hirtius, de Bell. Alex.*

if Antipater by his credit and that of Hyrcanus, from whom he brought them letters, had not engaged them to eſpouſe Cæſar's party. Upon the ſpreading of that news, the Jews of Memphis did the ſame, and Mithridates received from both all the proviſions his army had occaſion for. When they were near Delta, Ptolemy detached a flying army to diſpute the paſſage of the Nile with them. A battle was fought in conſequence. Mithridates put himſelf at the head of part of his army, and gave the command of the other to Antipater. Mithridates's wing was ſoon broke, and obliged to give way; but Antipater, who had defeated the enemy on his ſide, came to his relief. The battle began afreſh, and the enemy were defeated. Mithridates and Antipater purſued them, made a great ſlaughter, and regained the field of battle. They took even the enemy's camp, and obliged thoſe who remained to eſcape, by repaſſing the Nile.

Ptolemy then advanced with his whole army, in order to overpower the victors. Cæſar alſo marched to ſupport them; and as ſoon as he had joined them, came directly to a deciſive battle, in which he obtained a complete victory. Ptolemy, in endeavouring to eſcape in a boat, was drowned in the Nile. Alexandria, and all Egypt, ſubmitted to the victor.

Cæſar returned to Alexandria about the middle of January; and not finding any farther oppoſition to his orders, gave the crown of Egypt to Cleopatra, in conjunction with Ptolemy her other brother. This was in effect giving it to Cleopatra alone; for that young prince was only eleven years old. The paſſion which Cæſar had conceived for that princeſs, was properly the ſole cauſe of his embarking in ſo dangerous a war. He had by her one ſon, called Cæſario, whom Auguſtus cauſed to be put to death when he became maſter of Alexandria. His affection for Cleopatra kept him much longer in Egypt, than his affairs required. For though every thing was ſettled in that kingdom by the end of January,

he did not leave it till the end of April, according to Appian, who ſays he ſtayed there nine months. He arrived there only about the end of July the year before.

(*g*) Cæſar paſſed whole nights in feaſting with Cleopatra. Having embarked with her upon the Nile, he carried her through the whole country with a numerous fleet, and would have penetrated into Ethiopia, if his army had not refuſed to follow him. He had reſolved to have her brought to Rome, and to marry her; and intended to have cauſed a law to paſs in the aſſembly of the people, by which the citizens of Rome ſhould be permitted to marry ſuch, and as many wives as they thought fit. Marius Cinna, the tribune of the people, declared, after his death, that he had prepared an harangue, in order to propoſe that law to the people, not being able to refuſe his offices to the earneſt ſollicitation of Cæſar.

He carried Arſinoe, whom he had taken in this war, to Rome, and ſhe walked in his triumph in chains of gold; but immediately after that ſolemnity he ſet her at liberty. He did not permit her, however, to return into Egypt, leſt her preſence ſhould occaſion new troubles, and fruſtrate the regulations he had made in that kingdom. She choſe the province of Aſia for her reſidence, at leaſt it was there Anthony found her after the battle of Philippi, and cauſed her to be put to death at the inſtigation of her ſiſter Cleopatra.

Before he left Alexandria, Cæſar, in gratitude for the aid he had received from the Jews, cauſed all the privileges they enjoyed to be confirmed; and ordered a column to be erected, on which, by his command, all thoſe privileges were engraven with the decree of confirming them.

(*h*) What at length made him quit Egypt, was the war with Pharnaces, king of the Cimmerian Boſphorus, and ſon of Mithridates, the laſt king of Pontus

(*g*) Suet. in J. Cæſ. l. ii. c. 52. (*h*) Plut. in Cæſ. p. 731.

Pontus. He fought a great battle with him near the city of * Zela, defeated his whole army, and drove him out of the kingdom of Pontus. To denote the rapidity of his conqueſt, in writing to one of his friends, he made uſe of only theſe three words, *Veni, vidi, vici*; that is to ſay, *I came, I ſaw, I conquered.*

SECT. III. CLEOPATRA *cauſes her younger brother to be put to death, and reigns alone. The death of* JULIUS CÆSAR *having made way for the triumvirate formed between* ANTHONY, LEPIDUS, *and young* CÆSAR, *called alſo* OCTAVIUS, CLEOPATRA *declares herſelf for the triumvirs. She goes to* ANTHONY *at Tarſus, gains an abſolute aſcendant over him, and brings him with her to Alexandria.* ANTHONY *goes to Rome, where he eſpouſes* OCTAVIA. *He abandons himſelf again to* CLEOPATRA, *and after ſome expeditions returns to Alexandria, which he enters in triumph. He there celebrates the coronation of* CLEOPATRA *and her children. Open rupture between* CÆSAR *and* ANTHONY. *The latter repudiates* OCTAVIA. *The two fleets put to ſea.* CLEOPATRA *determines to follow* ANTHONY. *Battle of Actium.* CLEOPATRA *flies, and draws* ANTHONY *after her.* CÆSAR'*s victory is complete. He advances ſome time after againſt Alexandria, which makes no long reſiſtance. Tragical death of* ANTHONY *and* CLEOPATRA. *Egypt is reduced into a province of the Roman empire.*

CÆSAR, after the war of Alexandria, had ſet Cleopatra upon the throne, and, for form only, had aſſociated her brother with her, who at that time was only eleven years of age. During his minority, all power was in her hands. (*i*) When he attained his fifteenth year, which was the firſt time, when, according to the laws of the country, he was to govern for himſelf, and have a ſhare in the royal authority, ſhe poiſoned him, and remained ſole queen of Egypt. A. M. 3961. Ant. J. C. 43.



(*i*) Joſeph. Antiq. l. xv. c. 4. Porphyr. p. 226.

* *This was a city of Cappadocia.*

In this interval Cæſar had been killed at Rome by the conſpirators, at the head of whom were Brutus and Caſſius; and the triumvirate between Anthony, Lepidus, and Octavius Cæſar, had been formed, to avenge the death of Cæſar.

(*k*) Cleopatra declared herſelf without heſitation for the triumvirs. She gave Albienus, the conſul Dolabella's lieutenant, four legions which were the remains of Pompey's and Craſſus's armies, and were part of the troops Cæſar had left with her for the guard of Egypt. She had alſo a fleet in readineſs for ſailing, but prevented by ſtorms from ſetting out. A. M. 3962. Caſſius made himſelf maſter of thoſe four legions, Ant. J. C. 42. and frequently ſollicited Cleopatra for aid, which ſhe as often refuſed. She ſailed ſome time after with a numerous fleet, to join Anthony and Octavius. A violent ſtorm occaſioned the loſs of a great number of her ſhips, and falling ſick, ſhe was obliged to return into Egypt.

A. M. 3963. (*l*) Anthony, after the defeat of Brutus and Caſſius Ant. J. C. 41. in the battle of Philippi, having paſſed over into Aſia, in order to eſtabliſh the authority of the triumvirate there, the kings, princes, and ambaſſadors of the Eaſt, came thither in throngs to make their court to him. He was informed that the governours of Phœnicia, which was in the dependence of the kingdom of Egypt, had ſent Caſſius aid againſt Dolabella. He cited Cleopatra before him, to anſwer for the conduct of her governours; and ſent one of his lieutenants to oblige her to come to him in Cilicia, whither he was going to aſſemble the ſtates of that province. That ſtep became very fatal to Anthony in its effects, and occaſioned his ruin. His love for Cleopatra having awakened paſſions in him, till then concealed or aſleep, inflamed them even to madneſs, and finally deadened and extinguiſhed the few ſparks of honour and virtue, he might perhaps ſtill retain. Cleopatra,

(*k*) Appian. l. iii. p. 576. l. iv. p. 623. l. v. p. 675. (*l*) Plut. in Anton. p. 926, 927. Diod. l. xlviii. p. 371. Appian de Bell. Civ. l. v. p. 671.

Cleopatra, aſſured of her charms, by the proof ſhe had already ſo ſufficiently made of them upon Julius Cæſar, was in hopes, that ſhe could alſo very eaſily captivate Anthony: and the more, becauſe the former had known her only when ſhe was very young, and had no experience of the world; whereas ſhe was going to appear before Anthony at an age, wherein women with the bloom of their beauty, unite the whole force of wit and addreſs to treat and conduct the greateſt affair. Cleopatra was at that time five-and-twenty years old. She provided herſelf therefore with exceeding rich preſents, great ſums of money, and eſpecially the moſt magnificent habits and ornaments; and with ſtill higher hopes in her attractions, and the graces of her perſon more powerful than dreſs, or even gold, ſhe began her voyage.

Upon her way ſhe received ſeveral letters from Anthony, who was at Tarſus, and, from his friends, preſſing her to haſten her journey; but ſhe only laughed at their inſtances, and uſed never the more diligence for them. And having croſſed the ſea of Pamphylia ſhe entered the Cydnus, and going up that river landed at Tarſus. Never was equipage more ſplendid and magnificent than her's. The whole poop of her ſhip flamed with gold, the ſails were purple, and the oars inlaid with ſilver. A pavilion of cloth of gold was raiſed upon the deck, under which appeard the queen, robed like Venus, and ſurrounded with the moſt beautiful virgins of her court, of whom ſome repreſented the nereids, and others the graces. Inſtead of trumpets, were heard flutes, hautboys, harps, and other ſuch inſtruments of muſick, warbling the ſofteſt airs, to which the oars kept time, and rendered the harmony more agreeable. Perfumes burnt on the deck, which ſpread their odours to a great diſtance upon the river, and on each ſide of its banks, that were covered with an infinitude of people, whom the novelty of the ſpectacle had drawn thither.

As ſoon as her arrival was known, the whole people of Tarſus went out to meet her; ſo that Anthony, who at that time was giving audience, ſaw his tribunal abandoned by all the world, and not a ſingle perſon with him, but his lictors and domeſticks. A rumour was ſpread, that it was the goddeſs Venus, who came in maſquerade to make Bacchus a viſit for the good of Aſia.

She was no ſooner landed, than Anthony ſent to compliment and invite her to ſupper. But ſhe anſwered his deputies, that ſhe ſhould be very glad to regale him herſelf, and that ſhe would expect him in the tents ſhe had cauſed to be got ready upon the banks of the river. He made no difficulty to go thither, and found the preparations of a magnificence not to be expreſſed. He admired particularly the beauty of the branches, which had been diſpoſed with abundance of art, and were ſo luminous, that they made midnight ſeem agreeable day.

Anthony invited her, in his turn, for the next day. But whatever endeavours he had uſed to exceed her in this entertainment, he confeſſed himſelf overcome, as well in the ſplendour as diſpoſition of the feaſt, and was the firſt to rally the parſimony and plainneſs of his own, in compariſon with the ſumptuoſity and elegance of Cleopatra's. The queen, finding nothing but what was groſs in the pleaſantries of Anthony, and more expreſſive of the ſoldier than the courtier, repaid him in his own coin; but with ſo much wit and grace, that he was not in the leaſt offended at it. For the beauties and charms of her converſation, attended with all poſſible ſweetneſs and gaiety, had attractions in them ſtill more irreſiſtible than her form and features, and left ſuch incentives in the heart, the very ſoul, as were not eaſily conceivable. She charmed whenever ſhe but ſpoke, but muſick and harmony were in her utterance, and the very ſound of her voice.

Little or no mention was made of the complaints againſt Cleopatra, which were, beſides, without foundation.

tion. She ſtruck Anthony ſo violently with her charms, and gained ſo abſolute an aſcendant over him, that he could refuſe her nothing. It was at this time he cauſed Arſinoe her ſiſter to be put to death, who had taken refuge in the temple of Diana at Melitus, as in a ſecure aſylum.

(*m*) Great feaſts were made every day. Some new banquet ſtill outdid that which preceded it, and ſhe ſeemed to ſtudy to excel herſelf. Anthony, in a feaſt which ſhe made, was aſtoniſhed at ſeeing the riches diſplayed on all ſides, and eſpecially at the great number of gold cups enriched with jewels, and wrought by the moſt excellent workmen. She told him, with a diſdainful air, that thoſe were but trifles, and made him a preſent of them. The next day the banquet was ſtill more ſuperb. Anthony, according to cuſtom, had brought a good number of gueſts along with him, all officers of rank and diſtinction. She gave them all the veſſels and plate of gold and ſilver uſed at the entertainment.

Without doubt, in one of theſe feaſts happened what Pliny, and after him Macrobius, relate. Cleopatra jeſted according to cuſtom upon Anthony's table, as very indifferently ſerved, and inelegant. Piqued with the raillery, he aſked her with ſome warmth, what ſhe thought would add to its magnificence? Cleopatra anſwered coldly, that ſhe could expend * more than a million of livres upon one ſupper. He affirmed, that ſhe only boaſted, that it was impoſſible, and that ſhe could never make it appear. A wager was laid, and Plancus was to decide it. The next day they came to the banquet. The ſervice was magnificent, but had nothing ſo very extraordinary in it. Anthony calculated the expence, demanded of the queen the price of the ſeveral diſhes, and with an air of raillery, as ſecure of victory, told her, that they were ſtill far from a million.

Stay,

(*m*) Athen. l. iv. p. 147, 148.

* Centies *H. S.* Hoc eſt centies centena millies ſeſtertiûm. *Which amounted to more than a million of livres, or* 52500 l. *ſterling.*

Stay, ſaid the queen, this is only a beginning. I ſhall try whether I cannot ſpend a million only upon myſelf. * A ſecond table was brought, and, according to the order ſhe had before given, nothing was ſet on it but a ſingle cup of vinegar. Anthony, ſurpriſed at ſuch a preparation, could not imagine for what it was intended. Cleopatra had at her ears two of the fineſt pearls that ever were ſeen, each of which was valued at about fifty thouſand pounds. One of theſe pearls ſhe took off, threw it into † the vinegar, and, after having made it melt, ſwallowed it. She was preparing to do as much by the other ‡; Plancus ſtopped her, and deciding the wager in her favour, declared Anthony overcome. Plancus was much in the wrong, to envy the queen the ſingular and peculiar glory of having devoured two millions in two cups.

A. M. 3964. Ant. J. C. 40. Anthony was embroiled with Cæſar. Whilſt his wife Fulvia was very active at Rome in ſupporting his intereſts, and the army of the Parthians was upon the point of entering Syria, as if thoſe things did not concern him, he ſuffered himſelf to be drawn away by Cleopatra to Alexandria, where they paſſed their time in games, amuſements, and voluptuouſneſs, treating each other every day at exceſſive and incredible expences; which may be judged of from the following circumſtance.

(o) A young Greek, who went to Alexandria to ſtudy phyſick, upon the great noiſe thoſe feaſts made, had the curioſity to aſſure himſelf with his own eyes about

(o) Plut. in Anton. p. 928.

* *The ancients changed their tables at every courſe.*

† *Vinegar is of force to melt the hardeſt things.* Aceti ſuccus domitor rerum, *as Pliny ſays of it,* l. xxxiii c. 3. *Cleopatra had not the glory of the invention. Before,*

Filius Æſopi detractam ex aure Metellæ,
Scilicet ut decies ſolidûm exſorberet, aceto
Diluit inſignem baccam——— *Hor.* l. ii. Sat. 5.

‡ *This other pearl was afterwards conſecrated to Venus by Auguſtus, who carried it to Rome on his return from Alexandria; and to the diſgrace of royalty, the ſon of a comedian (Clodius the ſon of Æſopus) had done ſomething of the ſame kind, and often ſwallowed pearls melted in that manner, from the ſole pleaſure of making the expence of his meals enormous. having cauſed it to be cut in two, its ſize was ſo extraordinary, that it ſerved for pendents in the ears of that goddeſs.*

about them. Having been admitted into Anthony's kitchen, he ſaw, amongſt other things, eight wild boars roaſting whole at the ſame time. Upon which he expreſſed ſurpriſe at the great number of gueſts that he ſuppoſed were to be at this ſupper. One of the officers could not forbear laughing, and told him, that they were not ſo many as he imagined, and that there could not be above ten in all: but that it was neceſſary every thing ſhould be ſerved in a degree of perfection, which every moment ceaſes and ſpoils. "For (added he) it often happens, that Anthony will order his ſupper, and a moment after forbid it to be ſerved, having entered into ſome converſation that diverts him. For that reaſon not one but many ſuppers are provided, becauſe it is hard to know at what time he will think fit to eat."

Cleopatra, leſt Anthony ſhould eſcape her, never loſt ſight of him, nor quitted him day or night, but was always employed in diverting and retaining him in her chains. She played with him at dice, hunted with him, and when he exerciſed his troops was always preſent. Her ſole attention was to amuſe him agreeably, and not to leave him time to conceive the leaſt diſguſt.

One day, when he was fiſhing with an angle, and catched nothing, he was very much diſpleaſed on that account, becauſe the queen was of the party, and he was unwilling to ſeem to want addreſs or good fortune in her preſence. It therefore came into his thoughts to order fiſhermen to dive ſecretly under water, and to faſten ſome of their large fiſhes to his hook, which they had taken before. That order was executed immediately, and Anthony drew up his line ſeveral times, with a great fiſh at the end of it. This artifice did not eſcape the fair Egyptian. She affected great admiration and ſurpriſe at Anthony's good fortune; but told her friends privately what had paſſed, and invited them to come the next day, and be ſpectators of a like pleaſantry. They did not fail. When they were all got into the fiſhing-boats, and

and Anthony had thrown his line, ſhe commanded one of her people to dive immediately into the water, to prevent Anthony's divers, and to make faſt a large ſalt fiſh, of thoſe that came from the kingdom of Pontus, to his hook. When Anthony perceived his line had its load, he drew it up. It is eaſy to imagine, what a great laugh aroſe at the ſight of that ſalt fiſh; and Cleopatra ſaid to him, *Leave the line, good general, to us, the kings and queens of Pharos and Canopus: your buſineſs is to fiſh for cities, kingdoms, and kings.*

Whilſt Anthony amuſed himſelf in theſe puerile ſports and trifling diverſions, the news he received of Labienus's conqueſts, at the head of the Parthian army, awakened him from his profound ſleep, and obliged him to march againſt them. But having received advice, upon his route, of Fulvia's death, he returned to Rome, where he reconciled himſelf to young Cæſar, whoſe ſiſter Octavia he married, a woman of extraordinary merit, who was lately become a widow by the death of Marcellus. It was believed this marriage would make him forget Cleopatra. But having began his march againſt the Parthians, his paſſion for the Egyptian, which had ſomething of enchantment in it, re-kindled with more violence than ever.

A. M. 3965. Ant. J. C. 39.

A. M. 3966. Ant. J. C. 38.

(*p*) This queen, in the midſt of the moſt violent paſſions, and the intoxication of pleaſures, retained always a taſte for polite learning, and the ſciences. In the place where ſtood the famous library of Alexandria, which had been burnt ſome years before, as we have obſerved, ſhe erected a new one, to the augmentation of which Anthony very much contributed, by preſenting her the libraries of Pergamus, in which were above two hundred thouſand volumes. She did not collect books merely for ornament, ſhe made uſe of them. There were few barbarous nations to whom ſhe ſpoke by an interpreter; ſhe anſwered moſt of them in their own language; the Ethiopians, Tro-

(*p*) Epiphan. de menſ. & pond.

Troglodytæ, Arabians, Syrians, Medes, Parthians. (q) She knew beſides ſeveral other languages; whereas the kings, who had reigned before her in Egypt, had ſcarce been able to learn the Egyptian, and ſome of them had even forgot the Macedonian, their natural tongue.

Cleopatra, pretending herſelf the lawful wife of Anthony, ſaw him marry Octavia with great emotion, whom ſhe looked upon as her rival. Anthony, to appeaſe her, was obliged to make her magnificent preſents. He gave her Phœnicia, the Lower Syria, the iſle of Cyprus, with a great extent of Cilicia. To theſe he added part of Judæa and Arabia. Theſe great preſents, which conſiderably abridged the empire, very much afflicted the Romans, and they were no leſs offended at the exceſſive honours which he paid this foreign princeſs.

Two years paſſed, during which Anthony made ſeveral voyages to Rome, and undertook ſome expeditions againſt the Parthians and Armenians, in which he acquired no great honour.

(r) It was in one of theſe expeditions the temple of Anaitis was plundered, a goddeſs much celebrated amongſt a certain people of Armenia. Her ſtatue of maſſy gold was broke in pieces by the ſoldiers, with which ſeveral of them were conſiderably enriched. One of them, a veteran, who afterwards ſettled at Bologna in Italy, had the good fortune to receive Auguſtus in his houſe, and to entertain him at ſupper. *Is it true*, ſaid that prince at table, talking of this ſtory, *that the man, who made the firſt ſtroke at the ſtatue of this goddeſs, was immediately deprived of ſight, loſt the uſe of his limbs, and expired the ſame hour? If it were*, replied the veteran with a ſmile, *I ſhould not now have the honour of ſeeing Auguſtus beneath my roof, being myſelf the raſh perſon who made the firſt attack upon her, which has ſince ſtood me in great ſtead. For if I have any thing, I am entirely indebted for it to the*

(q) Plut. in Anton. p. 927. (r) Plin. l. xxxiii. c. 23.

*the good goddeſs; upon one of whoſe legs, even now, my lord, you are at ſupper.*

A. M. 3969. Ant. J. C. 35. (*s*) Anthony, believing he had made every thing ſecure in theſe countries, led back his troops. From his impatience to rejoin Cleopatra, he haſtened his march ſo much, notwithſtanding the rigour of the ſeaſon and the continual ſnows, that he loſt eight thouſand men upon his route, and marched into Phœnicia with very few followers. He reſted there in expectation of Cleopatra: and as ſhe was ſlow in coming, he fell into anxiety, grief, and languiſhment, which viſibly preyed upon him. She arrived at length with clothes and great ſums of money, for his troops.

Octavia, at the ſame time, had quitted Rome to join him, and was already arrived at Athens. Cleopatra rightly perceived that ſhe came to diſpute Anthony's heart with her. She was afraid, that with her virtue, wiſdom, and gravity of manners, if ſhe had time to make uſe of her modeſt, but lively and inſinuating, attractions to win her huſband, that ſhe would gain an abſolute power over him. To avoid which danger, ſhe affected to die for love of Anthony; and, with that view, made herſelf lean and wan, by taking very little nouriſhment. Whenever he entered her apartment, ſhe looked upon him with an air of ſurpriſe and amazement; and when he left her, ſeemed to languiſh with ſorrow and dejection. She often contrived to appear bathed in tears, and at the ſame moment endeavoured to dry and conceal them, as to hide her weakneſs and diſorder. Anthony, who feared nothing ſo much as occaſioning the leaſt diſpleaſure to Cleopatra, wrote letters to Octavia, to order her to ſtay for him at Athens, and to come no farther, becauſe he was upon the point of undertaking ſome new expedition. At the requeſt of the king of the Medes, who promiſed him powerful ſuccours, he was, in reality, making preparations to renew the war againſt the Parthians.

That

(*s*) Plut. in Anton. p. 939—942.

That virtuous Roman lady, diſſembling the wrong he did her, ſent to him to know, where it would be agreeable to him to have the preſents carried ſhe had deſigned for him, ſince he did not think fit to let her deliver them in perſon. Anthony received this ſecond compliment no better than the firſt; and Cleopatra, who had prevented his ſeeing Octavia, would not permit him to receive any thing from her. Octavia was obliged therefore to return to Rome, without having produced any other effect by her voyage, than that of making Anthony more inexcuſable. This was what Cæſar deſired, in order to have a juſter reaſon for breaking entirely with him.

When Octavia came to Rome, Cæſar, profeſſing an high reſentment of the affront ſhe had received, ordered her to quit Anthony's houſe, and to go to her own. She anſwered, that ſhe would not leave her huſband's houſe; and that if he had no other reaſons for a war with Anthony, than what related to her, ſhe conjured him to renounce her intereſts. She accordingly always continued there, as if he had been preſent, and educated with great care and magnificence, not only the children he had by her, but alſo thoſe of Fulvia. What a contraſt is here between Octavia and Cleopatra! In the midſt of reſentment and affronts, how worthy does the one ſeem of eſteem and reſpect, and the other, with all her grandeur and magnificence, of contempt and abhorrence.

Cleopatra omitted no kind of arts to retain Anthony in her chains. Tears, careſſes, reproaches, menaces, all were employed. By dint of preſents ſhe had gained all who approached him, and in whom he placed moſt confidence. Thoſe flatterers repreſented to him, in the ſtrongeſt terms, that it was utterly cruel and inhuman to abandon Cleopatra in the mournful condition ſhe then was; and that it would be the death of that unfortunate princeſs, who loved, and lived for him alone. They ſoftened and melted the heart of Anthony ſo effectually, that for fear of occaſioning

Cleopatra's death, he returned immediately to Alexandria, and put off the Medes to the following ſpring.

A. M. 3970. Ant. J. C. 34. It was with great difficulty then, that he reſolved to leave Egypt, and remove himſelf from his dear Cleopatra. She agreed to attend him as far as the banks of the Euphrates.

A. M. 3971. Ant. J. C. 33. After having made himſelf maſter of Armenia, as well by treachery as force of arms, he returned to Alexandria, which he entered in triumph, dragging at his chariot-wheels the king of Armenia, laden with chains of gold, and preſented him in that condition to Cleopatra, who was pleaſed to ſee a captive king at her feet. He unbent his mind at leiſure, after his great fatigues, in feaſts and parties of pleaſure, in which Cleopatra and himſelf paſſed night and day. That vain * Egyptian woman, at one of the banquets, ſeeing Anthony full of wine, preſumed to aſk him to give her the Roman empire, which he was not aſhamed to promiſe her.

Before he ſet out on a new expedition, Anthony, to bind the queen to him by new obligations, and to give her new proofs of his being entirely devoted to her, reſolved to ſolemnize the coronation of her and her children. A throne of maſſy gold was erected for that purpoſe in the palace, the aſcent to which was by ſeveral ſteps of ſilver. Anthony was ſeated upon his throne, dreſſed in a purple robe embroidered with gold, and buttoned with diamonds. On his ſide he wore a ſcimetar, after the Perſian mode, the handle and ſheath of which were loaded with precious ſtones: he had a diadem on his brows, and a ſceptre of gold in his hand; in order, as he ſaid, that in that equipage he might deſerve to be the huſband of a queen. Cleopatra ſat on his right hand in a ſhining robe, made of the precious linen appropriated to the uſe of the goddeſs Iſis, whoſe name and habit ſhe had the vanity to aſſume. Upon the ſame throne, but a little lower, ſat Cæſario, the ſon of Julius Cæſar and Cleopatra,

* Hæc mulier Ægyptia ab ebrio imperatore, pretium libidinum, Romanum imperium petiit: & promiſit Antonius. *Flor.* l. iv. c. 11.

patra, and the two other children, Alexander and Ptolemy, whom ſhe had by Anthony.

Every one having taken the place aſſigned them, the heralds, by the command of Anthony, and in the preſence of all the people, to whom the gates of the palace had been thrown open, proclaimed Cleopatra queen of Egypt, Cyprus, Libya, and Cœloſyria, in conjunction with her ſon Cæſario. They afterwards proclaimed the other princes kings of kings, and declared, till they ſhould poſſeſs a more ample inheritance, Anthony gave Alexander, the eldeſt, the kingdoms of Armenia and Media, with that of Parthia, when he ſhould have conquered it; and to the youngeſt, Ptolemy, the kingdoms of Syria, Phœnicia, and Cilicia. Thoſe two young princes were dreſſed after the mode of the ſeveral countries over which they were to reign. After the proclamation, the three princes, riſing from their ſeats, approached the throne, and putting one knee to the ground, kiſſed the hands of Anthony and Cleopatra. They had ſoon after a train aſſigned them, proportioned to their new dignity, and each his regiment of guards, drawn out of the principal families of his dominions.

Anthony repaired early into Armenia, in order to act againſt the Parthians, and advanced as far as the banks of the Araxis; but the news of what paſſed at Rome againſt him, prevented his going on, and induced him to abandon the Parthian expedition. He immediately detached Canidius with ſixteen legions, to the coaſt of the Ionian ſea, and joined them himſelf ſoon after at Epheſus, to be ready to act, in caſe of an open rupture between Cæſar and him; which there was great reaſon to expect.

Cleopatra was of the party; and that occaſioned Anthony's ruin. His friends adviſed him to ſend her back to Alexandria, till the event of the war ſhould be known. But that queen apprehending, that by Octavia's mediation he might come to an accommodation with Cæſar, gained Canidius, by preſents of money, to ſpeak in her favour to Anthony, and to repreſent

to him, that it was neither juſt to remove a princeſs from this war, who contributed ſo much towards it on her ſide; nor uſeful to himſelf, becauſe her departure would diſcourage the Egyptians, of whom the greateſt part of his maritime forces conſiſted. Beſides, continued thoſe who talked in this manner, it did not appear, that Cleopatra was inferior, either in prudence or capacity, to any of the princes or kings in his army: ſhe, who had governed ſo great a kingdom ſo long, might have learnt, in her commerce with Anthony, how to conduct the moſt important and difficult affairs with wiſdom and addreſs. Anthony did not oppoſe theſe remonſtrances, which flattered at once his paſſion and vanity.

From Epheſus he repaired with Cleopatra to Samos, where the greateſt part of their troops had their rendezvous, and where they paſſed their time in feaſting and pleaſure. The kings, in their train, exhauſted themſelves in making their court by extraordinary expences, and diſplayed exceſſive luxury in their entertainments.

(*u*) It was probably in one of theſe feaſts the circumſtance happened, related by Pliny. Whatever paſſion Cleopatra profeſſed for Anthony, as he perfectly knew her character for diſſimulation, and that ſhe was capable of the blackeſt crimes, he apprehended, I know not upon what foundation, that ſhe might have thoughts of poiſoning him, for which reaſon he never touched any diſh at their banquet, till it had been taſted. It was impoſſible that the queen ſhould not perceive ſo manifeſt a diſtruſt. She employed a very extraordinary method to make him ſenſible how ill-founded his fears were; and alſo, that if ſhe had ſo bad an intention, all the precautions he took would be ineffectual. She cauſed the extremities of the flowers to be poiſoned, of which the wreaths, worn by Anthony and herſelf at table, according to the cuſtom of the ancients, were compoſed. When their heads began to grow warm with wine, in the height

(*u*) Plin. l. xxi. c. 3.

height of their gaiety, Cleopatra propoſed drinking off thoſe flowers to Anthony. He made no difficulty of it; and after having plucked off the end of his wreath with his fingers, and thrown them into his cup filled with wine, he was upon the point of drinking it, when the queen, taking hold of his arm, ſaid to him—*I am the poiſoner, againſt whom you take ſuch mighty precaution. If it were poſſible for me to live without you, judge now whether I wanted either the opportunity or reaſon for ſuch an action.* Having ordered a priſoner, condemned to die, to be brought thither, ſhe made him drink that liquor, upon which he died immediately.

The court went from Samos to Athens, where they paſſed many days in the ſame exceſſes. Cleopatra ſpared no pains to obtain the ſame marks of affection and eſteem, Octavia had received, during her reſidence in that city. But whatever ſhe could do, ſhe could extort from them only forced civilities, which terminated in a trifling deputation, which Anthony obliged the citizens to ſend to her, and of which he himſelf would be the chief, in quality of a citizen of Athens.

(*x*) The new conſuls, Caius Soſius, and Domitius Ænobarbus, having declared openly for Anthony, quitted Rome, and repaired to him. Cæſar, inſtead of ſeiſing them, or cauſing them to be purſued, ordered it to be given out, that they went to him by his permiſſion; and declared publickly, that all perſons, who were ſo diſpoſed, had his conſent to retire whither they thought fit. By that means he remained maſter at Rome, and was in a condition to decree, and act whatever he thought proper for his own intereſts, or contrary to thoſe of Anthony. A. M. 3972. Ant. J. C. 32.

When Anthony was apprized of this, he aſſembled all the heads of his party; and the reſult of their deliberations was, that he ſhould declare war againſt Cæſar, and repudiate Octavia. He did both. Anthony's preparations for the war were ſo far advanced, that if he had attacked Cæſar vigorouſly without loſs



(*x*) Plut. in Anton. p. 429—955.

of time, the advantage muſt inevitably have been wholly on his ſide: for his adverſary was not then in a condition to make head againſt him, either by ſea or land. But voluptuouſneſs carried it, and the operations were put off to the next year. This was his ruin. Cæſar, by his delay, had time to aſſemble all his forces.

The deputies ſent by Anthony to Rome, to declare his divorce from Octavia, had orders to command her to quit his houſe, with all her children, and, in caſe of refuſal, to turn her out by force, and to leave nobody in it but the Son of Anthony by Fulvia. An indignity the more ſenſible to Octavia, as a rival was the cauſe of it. However, ſtifling her reſentment, ſhe anſwered the deputies only with her tears; and as unjuſt as his orders were, ſhe obeyed them, and removed with her children. She even laboured to appeaſe the people, whom ſo unworthy an action had incenſed againſt him, and did her utmoſt to mollify the rage of Cæſar. She repreſented to them, that it was inconſiſtent with the wiſdom and dignity of the Roman people, to enter into ſuch petty differences; that it was only a quarrel between women, which did not merit their reſentment about it; and that ſhe ſhould be very wretched, if ſhe were the occaſion of a new war; ſhe, who had ſolely conſented to her marriage with Anthony, from the hope, that it would prove the pledge of an union between him and Cæſar. Her remonſtrances had a different effect from her intentions, and the people, charmed with her virtue, had ſtill more compaſſion for her misfortune, and deteſtation for Anthony than before.

But nothing enraged them to ſuch an height as Anthony's will, which he had depoſited in the hands of the Veſtal virgins. This myſtery was revealed by (*a*) two perſons of conſular dignity, who, incapable of ſuffering the pride of Cleopatra, and the abandoned voluptuouſneſs of Anthony, had retired to Cæſar. As they had been witneſſes of this will, and knew the ſecret,

(*a*) Titius and Plancus.

ſecret, they declared it to Cæſar. The Veſtals made great difficulty to give up an act confided to their care; alledging in their excuſe the faith of depoſits, which they were obliged to obſerve; and were determined to be forced to it by the authority of the people. The will accordingly being brought into the Forum, theſe three articles were read in it: I. That Anthony acknowledged Cæſario the lawful ſon of Julius Cæſar. II. That he appointed his ſons by Cleopatra to be his heirs, with the title of kings of kings. III. That he decreed, in caſe he ſhould die at Rome, that his body, after having been carried in pomp through the city, ſhould be laid the ſame evening on a bed of ſtate, in order to its being ſent to Cleopatra, to whom he left the care of his funeral interment.

There are ſome authors, however, who believe this will to be a piece contrived by Cæſar, to render Anthony more odious to the people. And indeed, what appearance was there, that Anthony, who well knew to what a degree the Roman people were jealous of their rights and cuſtoms, ſhould confide to them the execution of a teſtament, which violated them with ſo much contempt?

When Cæſar had an army and fleet ready, which ſeemed ſtrong enough to make head againſt his enemy, he alſo declared war on his ſide. But in the decree granted by the people to that purpoſe, he cauſed it to be expreſſed, that it was againſt Cleopatra: it was from a refinement of policy he acted in that manner, and did not inſert Anthony's name in the declaration of war, though actually intended againſt him. For, beſides throwing the blame upon Anthony, by making him the aggreſſor in a war againſt his country, he artfully managed thoſe who were ſtill attached to him, whoſe number and credit might have proved formidable, and whom he would have been under the neceſſity of declaring enemies to the commonwealth, if Anthony had been expreſsly named in the decree.

Anthony returned from Athens to Samos, where the whole fleet was aſſembled. It conſiſted of five hundred ſhips of war of extraordinary ſize and ſtructure, having ſeveral decks one above another, with towers upon the head and ſtern of a prodigious height; ſo that thoſe ſuperb veſſels upon the ſea, might have been taken for floating iſlands. Such great crews were neceſſary for completely manning thoſe heavy machines, that Anthony, not being able to find mariners enough, had been obliged to take huſbandmen, artificers, muleteers, and all ſorts of people void of experience, and fitter to give trouble, than do ſervice.

On board this fleet were two hundred thouſand foot, and twelve thouſand horſe. The kings of Libya, Cappadocia, Paphlagonia, Comagena, and Thrace, were there in perſon; and thoſe of Pontus, Judæa, Lycaonia, Galatia, and Media, had ſent their troops. A more ſplendid and pompous ſight could not be ſeen, than this fleet when it put to ſea, and had unfurled its ſails. But nothing equalled the magnificence of Cleopatra's galley, all flaming with gold; its ſails of purple; its flags and ſtreamers floating in the wind, whilſt trumpets, and other inſtruments of war, made the heavens reſound with airs of joy and triumph. Anthony followed her cloſe in a galley almoſt as ſplendid. That * queen, drunk with her fortune and grandeur, and hearkening only to her unbridled ambition, fooliſhly threatened the Capitol with approaching ruin, and prepared with her infamous troop

* ————Dum Capitolio
Regina dementes ruinas,
Funus & imperio parabat,
Contaminato cum grege turpium
Morbo virorum; quidlibet impotens
Sperare, fortunaque dulci
Ebria———— Hor. *Od.* xxxvii. *l.* 1.

*Whilſt drunk with fortune's heady wine,*
*Fill'd with vaſt hope, though impotent in arms,*
*The haughty queen conceives the wild deſign,*
*So much her vain ambition charms;*
*With her polluted band of ſupple ſlaves,*
*Her ſilken eunuchs, and her Pharian knaves,*
*The Capitol in duſt to level low,*
*And give Rome's empire, and the world, a laſt and fatal blow!*

troop of eunuchs, utterly to ſubvert the Roman empire.

On the other ſide, leſs pomp and ſplendour was ſeen, but more utility. Cæſar had only two hundred and fifty ſhips, and fourſcore thouſand foot, with as many horſe as Anthony. But all his troops were choſen men, and on board his fleet were none but experienced ſeamen. His veſſels were not ſo large as Anthony's, but they were much lighter, and fitter for ſervice.

Cæſar's rendezvous was at Brunduſium, and Anthony advanced to Corcyra. But the ſeaſon of the year was over, and bad weather came on; ſo that they were both obliged to retire, and to put their troops into winter quarters, and their fleets into good ports, till ſpring came on.

Anthony and Cæſar, as ſoon as the ſeaſon would admit, took the field both by ſea and land. The two fleets entered the Ambracian gulph in Epirus. Anthony's braveſt and moſt experienced officers adviſed him not to hazard a battle by ſea, to ſend back Cleopatra into Egypt, and to make all poſſible haſte into Thrace or Macedonia, in order to fight there by land; becauſe his army, compoſed of good troops, and much ſuperior in numbers to Cæſar's, ſeemed to promiſe him the victory; whereas a fleet ſo ill manned as his, how numerous ſoever it might be, was by no means to be relied on. But it was long ſince Anthony had not been ſuſceptible of good advice, and had acted only to pleaſe Cleopatra. That proud princeſs, who judged things ſolely from appearances, believed her fleet invincible, and that Cæſar's ſhips could not approach it without being daſhed to pieces. Beſides, ſhe perceived aright, that in caſe of misfortune, it would be eaſier for her to eſcape in her ſhips, than by land. Her opinion therefore took place againſt the advice of all the generals. A. M. 3973. Ant. J. C. 31.

* The battle was fought upon the ſecond of September, at the mouth of the gulph of Ambracia, near the city of Actium, in ſight of both the land-armies;

* *The 4th before the nones of September.*

armies; the one of which was drawn up in battle upon the north, and the other upon the ſouth of that ſtrait, expecting the event. It was doubtful for ſome time, and ſeemed as much in favour of Anthony as Cæſar, till the retreat of Cleopatra. That queen, frightened with the noiſe of the battle, in which every thing was terrible to a woman, took to flight, when ſhe was in no danger, and drew after her the whole Egyptian ſquadron, which conſiſted of ſixty ſhips of the line; with which ſhe ſailed for the coaſt of Peloponneſus. Anthony, who ſaw her fly, forgetting every thing, forgetting even himſelf, followed her precipitately, and yielded a victory to Cæſar, which till then he had exceedingly well diſputed. It, however, coſt the victor extremely dear. For Anthony's ſhips fought ſo well after his departure, that though the battle began before noon, it was not over when night came on; ſo that Cæſar's troops were obliged to paſs it on board their ſhips.

The next day, Cæſar ſeeing his victory complete, detached a ſquadron in purſuit of Anthony and Cleopatra. But that ſquadron deſpairing of ever coming up with them, becauſe ſo far before it, ſoon returned to join the groſs of the fleet. Anthony having entered the admiral-galley, in which Cleopatra was, went and ſat down at the head of it; where, leaning his elbows on his knees, and ſupporting his head with his two hands, he remained like a man overwhelmed with ſhame and rage; reflecting, with profound melancholy, upon his ill conduct, and the misfortunes ſhe had brought upon him. He kept in that poſture, and in thoſe thoughts, during the three days they were going to * Tænarus, without ſeeing or ſpeaking to Cleopatra. At the end of that time, they ſaw each other again, and lived together as uſual.

The land-army ſtill remained entire, and conſiſted of eighteen legions, and two-and-twenty thouſand horſe, under the command of Canidius, Anthony's lieutenant-general, and might have made head, and given

* *Promontory of Laconia.*

given Cæſar abundance of difficulty. But ſeeing themſelves abandoned by their generals, they ſurrendered to Cæſar, who received them with open arms.

From Tænarus Cleopatra took the route of Alexandria, and Anthony that of Libya, where he had left a conſiderable army to guard the frontiers of that country. Upon his landing he was informed, that Scarpus, who commanded this army, had declared for Cæſar. He was ſo ſtruck with this news, which he had no room to expect, that he would have killed himſelf, and was with difficulty prevented from it by his friends. He therefore had no other choice to make, than to follow Cleopatra to Alexandria, where ſhe was arrived.

When ſhe approached that port, ſhe was afraid, if her misfortune ſhould be known, that ſhe ſhould be refuſed entrance. She therefore cauſed her ſhips to be crowned, as if ſhe was returned victorious; and no ſooner landed, than ſhe cauſed all the great lords of her kingdom, whom ſhe ſuſpected, to be put to death, leſt they ſhould excite ſeditions againſt her, when they were informed of her defeat. Anthony found her in the midſt of theſe bloody executions.

Soon after ſhe formed another very extraordinary deſign. To avoid falling into Cæſar's hands, who, ſhe foreſaw, would follow her into Egypt, ſhe deſigned to have her ſhips in the Mediterranean carried into the Red-ſea, over the iſthmus, between them, which is no more than thirty leagues broad; and afterwards to put all her treaſures on board thoſe ſhips, and others which ſhe had in that ſea. But the Arabians, who inhabited the coaſt, having burnt all the ſhips ſhe had there, ſhe was obliged to abandon her deſign. A. M. 3974. Ant. J. C. 30.

Changing therefore her reſolution, ſhe thought only of gaining Cæſar, whom ſhe looked upon as her conqueror, and to make him a ſacrifice of Anthony, whoſe misfortunes had rendered him indifferent to her. Such was this princeſs's diſpoſition. Though ſhe loved even

even to madneſs, ſhe had ſtill more ambition than love, and the crown being dearer to her than her huſband, ſhe entertained thoughts of preſerving it at the price of Anthony's life. But concealing her ſentiments from him, ſhe perſuaded him to ſend ambaſſadors to Cæſar, to negociate a treaty of peace with him. She joined her ambaſſadors with his; but gave them inſtructions to treat ſeparately for herſelf. Cæſar would not ſo much as ſee Anthony's ambaſſadors. He diſmiſſed Cleopatra's with a favourable anſwer. He paſſionately deſired to make ſure of her perſon and treaſures; her perſon, to adorn his triumph; her treaſures, to enable him to diſcharge the debts he had contracted upon account of this war. He therefore gave her reaſon to conceive great hopes, in caſe ſhe would ſacrifice Anthony to him.

The latter, after his return from Libya, had retired into a country-houſe, which he had cauſed to be built expreſsly on the banks of the Nile, in order to enjoy the converſation of two of his friends, who had followed him thither. In his retirement it might have been expected, that he would hear with pleaſure the wiſe diſcourſes of thoſe two philoſophers. But as they could not baniſh from his heart his love for Cleopatra, the ſole cauſe of all his misfortunes, that paſſion, which they had only ſuſpended, ſoon reſumed its former empire. He returned to Alexandria, abandoned himſelf again to the charms and careſſes of Cleopatra, and, with deſign to pleaſe her, ſent deputies again to Cæſar, to demand life of him, upon the ſhameful conditions of paſſing it at Athens as a private perſon; provided Cæſar would aſſure Egypt to Cleopatra and her children.

This ſecond deputation, not having met with a more favourable reception than the former, Anthony endeavoured to extinguiſh in himſelf the ſenſe of his preſent misfortunes, and the apprehenſion of thoſe that threatened him, he abandoning himſelf immoderately to feaſting and voluptuouſneſs. Cleopatra and he regaled one another alternately, and ſtrove with emulation

emulation to exceed each other in the incredible magnificence of their banquets.

The queen, however, who foreſaw what might happen, collected all ſorts of poiſons, and to try which of them occaſioned death with the leaſt pain, ſhe made the experiment of their virtues and ſtrength upon criminals in the priſons condemned to die. Having obſerved that the ſtrongeſt poiſons cauſed death the ſooneſt, but with great torment; and that thoſe which were gentle, brought on an eaſy, but ſlow death; ſhe tried the biting of venomous creatures, and cauſed various kinds of ſerpents to be applied to different perſons. She made theſe experiments every day, and diſcovered, at length, that the aſpick was the only one that cauſed neither torture nor convulſions; and which, throwing the perſons bit into an immediate heavineſs and ſtupefaction, attended with a ſlight ſweating upon the face, and numbneſs of all the organs of ſenſe, gently extinguiſhed life; ſo that thoſe in that condition were angry when any one awakened them, or endeavoured to make them riſe, like people exceedingly ſleepy. This was the poiſon ſhe fixed upon.

To diſpel Anthony's ſuſpicions and ſubjects of complaint, ſhe applied herſelf with more than ordinary ſollicitude in careſſing him. Though ſhe celebrated her own birth-day with little ſolemnity, and ſuitably to her preſent condition, ſhe kept that of Anthony with a ſplendour and magnificence, above what ſhe had ever inſtanced before; ſo that many of the gueſts who came poor to that feaſt, went rich from it.

Cæſar, knowing how important it was to him not to leave his victory imperfect, marched in the beginning of the ſpring into Syria, and from thence ſat down before Peluſium. He ſent to ſummon the governor to open the gates to him; and Seleucus, who commanded there for Cleopatra, having received ſecret orders upon that head, ſurrendered the place without waiting a ſiege. The rumour of this treaſon ſpread in the city. Cleopatra, to clear herſelf of the accu-

accuſation, put the wife and children of Seleucus into Anthony's hands, in order that he might revenge his treachery, by putting them to death. What a monſter was this princeſs! The moſt odious of vices were united in her perſon; profeſſed immodeſty, breach of faith, injuſtice, cruelty, and, what crowns all the reſt, the falſe outſide of a deceitful amity, which covers a deſign formed to deliver up to his enemy the perſon ſhe loads with the moſt tender careſſes, and with marks of the warmeſt and moſt ſincere attachment. Such are the effects of ambition, which was her predominant vice.

Adjoining to the temple of Iſis, ſhe had cauſed tombs and halls to be erected, ſuperb as well for their beauty and magnificence, as their loftineſs and extent. Thither ſhe ordered her moſt precious moveables to be carried; gold, ſilver, jewels, ebony, ivory, and a large quantity of perfumes and aromatick wood; as if ſhe intended to raiſe a funeral-pile, upon which ſhe would conſume herſelf with her treaſures. Cæſar, alarmed for the latter, and apprehending, leſt her deſpair ſhould induce her to burn them, diſpatched every day ſome perſon to her, to give her great hopes of the moſt kind and generous treatment, and nevertheleſs advanced towards the city by great marches.

Upon arriving there, he encamped near the Hippodrome. He was in hopes of making himſelf maſter of the city ſoon, by means of the intelligence he held with Cleopatra, upon which he relied no leſs than upon his army.

Anthony was ignorant of that princeſs's intrigues, and being unwilling to believe what was told him of them, prepared for a good defence. He made a vigorous ſally, and after having ſeverely handled the beſiegers, and warmly purſued to the gates of their camp a detachment of horſe, which had been ſent againſt him, he returned victorious into the city. This was the laſt effort of his expiring valour; for after this exploit, his fortitude and ſenſe of glory abandoned him, or were never after of any ſervice to him.

him. Inſtead of making uſe of this advantage, and of applying himſelf ſeriouſly to his defence, by obſerving the motions of Cleopatra, who betrayed him; he came, completely armed as he was, to throw himſelf at her feet, and to kiſs her hands. The whole palace of Alexandria immediately reſounded with acclamations, as if the ſiege had been raiſed; and Cleopatra, who had no thoughts but of amuſing Anthony, ordered a magnificent feaſt to be prepared, at which they paſſed the reſt of the day, and part of the night, together.

Early on the morrow, Anthony reſolved to attack Cæſar by ſea and land. He drew up his land-army upon ſome eminences in the city, and from thence kept his gallies in view, which were going out of the port, in order to charge thoſe of Cæſar. He waited, without making any motion, to ſee the ſucceſs of that attack; but was much aſtoniſhed, when he ſaw Cleopatra's admiral ſtrike his flag, when he came in view of Cæſar's, and ſurrender his whole fleet to him.

This treaſon opened Anthony's eyes, and made him give credit to what his friends had told him, of the queen's perfidy. In this extremity he was for ſignaliſing himſelf by an extraordinary act of valour, capable, in his ſenſe, of doing him abundance of honour. He ſent to challenge Cæſar to ſingle combat. Cæſar made anſwer, that if Anthony was weary of life, there were other ways to die beſides that. Anthony, ſeeing himſelf ridiculed by Cæſar, and betrayed by Cleopatra, returned into the city, and was a moment after abandoned by all his cavalry. Seiſed with rage and deſpair, he then flew to the palace, with deſign to avenge himſelf upon Cleopatra, but did not find her there.

That artful princeſs, who had foreſeen what happened, to eſcape the rage of Anthony, had retired into the quarter where ſtood the tombs of the kings of Egypt, which was fortified with good walls, and of which ſhe ordered the gates to be cloſed. She cauſed Anthony to be told, that preferring an honour-

able

able death to a ſhameful captivity, ſhe had killed herſelf in the midſt of her anceſtors tombs, where ſhe had alſo choſe her own ſepulchre. Anthony, too credulous, did not give himſelf time to examine a piece of news, which he ought to have ſuſpected, after all Cleopatra's other infidelities; and ſtruck with the idea of her death, paſſed immediately from exceſs of rage to the moſt violent tranſports of grief, and thought only of following her into the grave.

Having taken this furious reſolution, he ſhut himſelf up in his apartment with a ſlave, and having cauſed his armour to be taken off, he commanded him to plunge his dagger into his breaſt. But that ſlave, full of affection, reſpect, and fidelity for his maſter, ſtabbed himſelf with it, and fell dead at his feet. Anthony, looking upon this action as an example for him to follow, thruſt his ſword into his body, and fell upon the floor in a torrent of his blood, which he mingled with that of his ſlave. At that moment an officer of the queen's guards came to let him know, that ſhe was alive. He no ſooner heard the name of Cleopatra pronounced, than he opened his dying eyes, and being informed that ſhe was not dead, he ſuffered his wound to be dreſſed, and afterwards cauſed himſelf to be carried to the fort where ſhe had cauſed herſelf to be ſhut up. Cleopatra would not permit the gates to be opened to give him entrance, for fear of ſome ſurpriſe; but ſhe appeared at an high window, from whence ſhe threw down chains and cords. Anthony was made faſt to theſe, and Cleopatra aſſiſted by two women, who were the only perſons ſhe had brought with her into the tomb, drew him up. Never was there a more moving ſight. Anthony, all bathed in his blood, with death painted in his face, was dragged up in the air, turning his dying eyes, and extending his feeble hands, towards Cleopatra, as if to conjure her to receive his laſt breath; whilſt ſhe, with her features diſtorted, and her arms ſtrained, pulled the cords with her whole ſtrength; the people below, who

who could give her no further aid, encouraging her with their cries.

When ſhe had drawn him up to her, and had laid him on a bed, ſhe tore her clothes upon him, and beating her breaſt, and wiping the blood from his wound, with her face cloſe to his, ſhe called him her prince, her lord, her deareſt ſpouſe. Whilſt ſhe made theſe mournful exclamations, ſhe cut off Anthony's hair, according to the ſuperſtition of the Pagans, who believed that a relief to thoſe who died a violent death.

Anthony, recovering his ſenſes, and ſeeing Cleopatra's affliction, ſaid to her, to comfort her, that he thought himſelf happy as he died in her arms; and, that as to his defeat, he was not aſhamed of it, it being no diſgrace for a Roman to be overcome by Romans. He afterwards adviſed her to ſave her life and kingdom, provided ſhe could do ſo with honour, to be upon her guard againſt the traitors of her own court, as well as the Romans in Cæſar's train, and to truſt only Proculeius. He expired with theſe words.

The ſame moment Proculeius arrived from Cæſar, who could not refrain from tears at the ſad relation of what had paſſed, and at the ſight of the ſword ſtill reeking with Anthony's blood, which was preſented to him. He had particular orders to get Cleopatra into his hands, and to take her alive, if poſſible. That princeſs refuſed to ſurrender herſelf to him. She had however a converſation with him, without letting him enter the tomb. He only came cloſe to the gates, which were well faſtened, but gave paſſage for the voice through cracks. They talked a conſiderable time together, during which ſhe continually aſked the kingdom for her children; whilſt he exhorted her to hope the beſt, and preſſed her to confide all her intereſts to Cæſar.

After having conſidered the place well, he went to make his report to Cæſar, who immediately ſent Gallus to talk again with her. Gallus went to the gates, as Proculeius had done, and ſpoke like him

through the crevices, protracting the converſation on purpoſe. In the mean while Proculeius brought a ladder to the wall, entered the tomb by the ſame window through which ſhe and her women had drawn up Anthony, and, followed by two officers who were with him, went down to the gate where ſhe was ſpeaking to Gallus. One of the two women, who were ſhut up with her, ſeeing him come, cried out, quite out of her ſenſes with fear and ſurpriſe, *Oh unfortunate Cleopatra, you are taken!* Cleopatra turned her head, ſaw Proculeius, and would have ſtabbed herſelf with a dagger, which ſhe always carried at her girdle. But Proculeius ran nimbly to her, took her in his arms, and ſaid to her, *You wrong yourſelf and Cæſar too, in depriving him of ſo grateful an occaſion of ſhowing his goodneſs and clemency.* At the ſame time he forced the dagger out of her hands, and ſhook her robes, leſt ſhe ſhould have concealed poiſon in them.

Cæſar ſent one of his freemen, named Epaphroditus, with orders to guard her carefully, to prevent her making any attempt upon herſelf, and to behave to her, at the ſame time, with all the regard and complacency ſhe could deſire: he likewiſe inſtructed Proculeius to aſk the queen what ſhe deſired of him.

Cæſar afterwards prepared to enter Alexandria, the conqueſt of which there were no longer any to diſpute with him. He found the gates of it open, and all the inhabitants in extreme conſternation, not knowing what they had to hope or fear. He entered the city, converſing with the philoſopher Ariæus, upon whom he leant with an air of familiarity, to ſignify publickly the regard he had for him. Being arrived at the palace, he aſcended a tribunal, which he ordered to be erected there; and ſeeing the whole people proſtrate upon the ground, he commanded them to riſe. He then told them, that he pardoned them for three reaſons: the firſt, upon the account of Alexander their founder; the ſecond, for the beauty of their city; and the third, for the ſake of Ariæus, one of their citizens, whoſe merit and knowledge he eſteemed.

Pro-

Proculeius, in the mean time, acquitted himſelf of his commiſſion to the queen, who at firſt aſked nothing of Cæſar, but his permiſſion to bury Anthony, which was granted her without difficulty. She ſpared no coſt to render his interment magnificent, according to the cuſtom of Egypt. She cauſed his body to be embalmed with the moſt exquiſite perfumes of the Eaſt, and placed it amongſt the tombs of the kings of Egypt.

Cæſar did not think proper to ſee Cleopatra in the firſt days of her mourning: but when he believed he might do it with decency, he was introduced into her chamber, after having aſked her permiſſion; being deſirous to conceal his deſigns under the regard he profeſſed for her. She was laid upon a little bed, in a very ſimple and neglected manner. When he entered her chamber, though ſhe had nothing on but a ſingle tunick, ſhe roſe immediately, and went to throw herſelf at his feet, horribly disfigured, her hair looſe and diſordered, her viſage wild and hagged, her voice faultering, her eyes almoſt diſſolved by exceſſive weeping, and her boſom covered with wounds and bruiſes. That natural grace and lofty mien, which derived from her beauty, were, however, not wholly extinct; and notwithſtanding the deplorable condition to which ſhe was reduced, even through that depth of grief and dejection, as from a dark cloud, ſhot forth pointed graces, and a kind of radiance, which brightened in her looks, and in every moment of her countenance. Though ſhe was almoſt dying, ſhe did not deſpair of inſpiring that young victor with love, as ſhe had formerly done Cæſar and Anthony.

The chamber where ſhe received him was full of the portraits of Julius Cæſar. "My lord (ſaid ſhe "to him pointing to thoſe pictures) behold thoſe "images of him who adopted you his ſucceſſor in "the Roman empire, and to whom I was obliged for "my crown." Then taking letters out of her boſom, which ſhe had concealed in it; "See alſo (ſaid ſhe, "kiſſing them) the dear teſtimonies of his love."

She afterwards read ſome of the moſt tender of them, commenting upon them, at proper intervals, with moving exclamations, and paſſionate glances; but ſhe employed thoſe arts with no ſucceſs; for whether her charms had no longer the power they had in her youth, or that ambition was Cæſar's ruling paſſion, he did not ſeem affected with either her perſon or converſation; contenting himſelf with exhorting her to take courage, and with aſſuring her of his good intentions. She was far from not diſcerning that coldneſs, from which ſhe conceived no good augury; but diſſembling her concern, and changing the diſcourſe, ſhe thanked him for the compliments Proculeius had made her in his name, and he had thought fit to repeat in perſon. She added, that in return ſhe would deliver to him all the treaſures of the kings of Egypt. And in effect, ſhe put an inventory into his hands of all her moveables, jewels, and revenues. And as Seleucus, one of her treaſurers, who was preſent, reproached her with not declaring the whole, and with having concealed part of her moſt valuable effects; incenſed at ſo great an inſult, ſhe roſe up, ran to him, and gave him ſeveral blows in the face. Then turning towards Cæſar, "Is it not a horrible thing (ſaid ſhe "to him) that when you have not diſdained to viſit "me, and have thought fit to conſole me in the ſad "condition I now am, my own domeſticks ſhould "accuſe me before you of retaining ſome woman's "jewels, not to adorn a miſerable perſon as I am, "but for a preſent to your ſiſter Octavia, and your wife "Livia; that their protection may induce you to afford "a more favourable treatment to an unfortunate prin-"ceſs?"

Cæſar was exceedingly pleaſed to hear her talk in that manner, not doubting but the love of life inſpired her with ſuch language. He told her, ſhe might diſpoſe as ſhe pleaſed of the jewels ſhe had reſerved: and after having aſſured her, that he would treat her with more generoſity and magnificence than ſhe could imagine

imagine, he withdrew, imagining that he had deceived her, and was deceived himſelf.

Not doubting but Cæſar intended to make her ſerve as an ornament to his triumph, ſhe had no other thoughts than to avoid that ſhame by dying. She well knew that ſhe was obſerved by the guards who had been aſſigned her, and under colour of doing her honour, followed her every where; and beſides, that her time was ſhort, Cæſar's departure approaching. The better therefore to amuſe him, ſhe ſent to deſire, that ſhe might go to pay her laſt duty at the tomb of Anthony, and take her leave of him. Cæſar having granted her that permiſſion, ſhe went thither accordingly to bathe that tomb with her tears, and to aſſure Anthony, to whom ſhe addreſſed her diſcourſe as if he had been preſent before her eyes, that ſhe would ſoon give him a more certain proof of her affection.

After that fatal proteſtation, which ſhe accompanied with ſighs and laments, ſhe cauſed the tomb to be covered with flowers, and returned to her chamber. She then went into a bath, and from the bath to table, having ordered it to be ſerved magnificently. When ſhe roſe from table, ſhe wrote a letter to Cæſar; and having made all quit her chamber except her two women, ſhe ſhut the door, ſat down upon a bed, and aſked for a baſket of figs, which a peaſant had lately brought. She placed it by her, and a moment after lay down as if ſhe had fallen aſleep. But that was the effect of the aſpick, which was concealed amongſt the fruit, and had ſtung her in the arm, which ſhe had held to it. The poiſon immediately communicated itſelf to the heart, and killed her without pain, or being perceived by any body. The guards had orders to let nothing paſs without a ſtrict ſearch into it; but the diſguiſed peaſant, who was one of the queen's faithful ſervants, played his part ſo well, and there appeared ſo little appearance of deſign in a baſket of figs, that the guards ſuffered him to enter. Thus all Cæſar's precautions were ineffectual.

He did not doubt Cleopatra's reſolution, after having read the letter ſhe had written to him, to deſire that he would ſuffer her body to be laid in the ſame tomb with that of Anthony, and inſtantly diſpatched two officers to prevent it. But notwithſtanding all the haſte they could make, they found her dead.

That * princeſs was too haughty, and too much above the vulgar, to ſuffer herſelf to be led in triumph at the wheels of the victor's chariot. Determined to die, and thence become capable of the fierceſt reſolutions, ſhe ſaw, with dry eyes, and indifference, the mortal venom of the aſpick glide into her veins.

She died at thirty-nine years of age, of which ſhe had reigned twenty-two from the death of her father. The ſtatues of Anthony were thrown down, and thoſe of Cleopatra remained as they were; Archibius, who had long been in her ſervice, having given Cæſar a thouſand talents, that they might not be treated as Anthony's had been.

After Cleopatra's death, Egypt was reduced into a province of the Roman empire, and governed by a præfect ſent thither from Rome. The reign of the Ptolemies in Egypt, to date its commencement from the death of Alexander the Great, had continued two hundred fourſcore and thirteen years, from the year of the world 3681, to 3974.

CON-

* Auſa & jacentem viſere regiam
Vultu ſereno fortis, & aſperas
Tractare ſerpentes, ut atrum
Corpore combiberet venenum;
Deliberatâ morte ferocior:
Sævis Liburnis ſcilicet invidens
Privata deduci ſuperbo
Non humilis mulier triumpho.

Hor. *Od.* xxxvii. *l.* 1.

*Not the dark palace of the realms below*
*Can awe the ſurious purpoſe of her ſoul;*
*Calmly ſhe looks from her ſuperior woe,*
*That can both death and fear control;*
*Provokes the ſerpent's ſting, his rage diſdains,*
*And joys to feel his poiſon in her veins.*
*Invidious to the victor's fancy'd pride,*
*She will not from her own deſcend,*
*Diſrac'd, a vulgar captive, by his ſide,*
*His pompous triumph to attend;*
*But fiercely flies to death, and bids her ſorrows end.*

# CONCLUSION

## OF THE

# ANCIENT HISTORY.

WE have ſeen hitherto, without ſpeaking of the firſt and ancient kingdom of Egypt, and of ſome ſtates ſeparate, and in a manner entirely diſtinct from the reſt, three great ſucceſſive empires, founded on the ruins of each other, ſubſiſt during a long ſeries of ages, and at length entirely diſappear; the empire of the Babylonians, the empire of the Medes and Perſians, and the empire of the Macedonians and the Grecian princes, ſucceſſors of Alexander the Great. A fourth empire ariſes, that of the Romans, which having already ſwallowed up moſt of thoſe which have preceded it, will extend its conqueſts, and after having ſubjected all to its power by force of arms, be itſelf torn in a manner into different pieces, and by being ſo diſmembered, make way for the eſtabliſhment of almoſt all the kingdoms, which now divide Europe, Aſia, and Africa. Behold here, to ſpeak properly, an abridged picture of all ages; of the glory and power of all the empires of the world; in a word, of all that human greatneſs has of moſt ſplendid, and moſt capable of exciting admiration! All theſe, by an happy concurrence, generally unite in it: height of genius, delicacy of taſte, attended with ſolid judgement; the excellent taſte of eloquence, carried to the higheſt degree of perfection, without departing from the natural and the true; the glory of arms, with that of arts and ſciences; valour in conquering, and ability in government. What a multitude of great men of every kind does it not preſent to your view! What powerful, what glorious kings!

What great captains! What famous conquerors! What wiſe magiſtrates! What learned philoſophers! What admirable legiſlators! We are tranſported with beholding in certain ages and countries, as if peculiar to themſelves, an ardent zeal for juſtice, a paſſionate love for their country, a noble diſintereſtedneſs, a generous contempt of riches, and an eſteem for poverty, which aſtoniſh and amaze us, ſo much they appear above human nature.

In this manner we think and judge. But whilſt we are in admiration and extaſy at the view of ſo many ſhining virtues, the Supreme Judge, who can alone eſtimate all things, ſees nothing in them but trifle, meanneſs, vanity, and pride; and, whilſt mankind are continually buſied in perpetuating the power of their families, in founding kingdoms, and eternizing themſelves, if that were poſſible, God, from his throne on high, overthrows all their projects, and makes even their ambition the means of executing his purpoſes, infinitely ſuperior to our underſtandings. He alone knows his operations and deſigns. All ages are preſent to him: *He ſeeth from everlaſting to everlaſting* (*a*). He has aſſigned all empires their fate and duration. In all the different revolutions, we have ſeen that nothing has come to paſs by chance. We know, that under the image of that ſtatue, which Nebuchodonoſor ſaw, of an enormous height and terrible aſpect, with the head of gold, the breaſt and arms of ſilver, the belly and thighs of braſs, and the legs of iron mixed with clay, God thought fit to repreſent the four great empires, uniting in them, as we have ſeen in the courſe of this hiſtory, all that is glorious, grand, formidable, and powerful. And of what has the Almighty occaſion for overthrowing this immenſe coloſſus? (*b*) *A ſmall ſtone was cut out without hands, which ſmote the image upon his feet, that were of iron and clay, and brake them to pieces. Then was the iron, the clay, the braſs, the ſilver, and the gold broken to pieces together, and became like the chaff of the ſummer*

(*a*) Eccleſ. xxxix. 19. (*b*) Dan. ii. 34, 35.

*ſummer threſhing-floors, and the wind carried them away, that no place was found for them; and the ſtone that ſmote the image became a great mountain, and filled the whole earth.*

We ſee with our own eyes the accompliſhment of this admirable prophecy of Daniel, at leaſt in part. JESUS CHRIST, who deſcended to clothe himſelf with fleſh and blood in the ſacred womb of the bleſſed virgin, without the participation of man, is the ſmall ſtone that came from the mountain without human aid. The prevailing characteriſticks of his perſon, of his relations, his appearance, his manner of teaching, his diſciples, in a word, of every thing that relates to him, were ſimplicity, poverty, and humility; which were ſo extreme, that they concealed from the eyes of the proud Jews the divine luſtre of his miracles, how ſhining ſoever it was, and from the ſight of the devil himſelf, as penetrating and attentive as he was, the evident proofs of his divinity.

Notwithſtanding that ſeeming weakneſs, and even meanneſs, JESUS CHRIST will certainly conquer the whole univerſe. It is under this idea a prophet repreſents him to us: (*c*) *He went forth conquering and to conquer.* His work and miſſion are, *to ſet up a kingdom for his Father, which ſhall never be deſtroyed; and the kingdom which ſhall not be left to other people*; like thoſe of which we have ſeen in the hiſtory; *but it ſhall break in pieces, and conſume all theſe kingdoms, and it ſhall ſtand for ever.*

The power granted to JESUS CHRIST, the founder of this empire, is without bounds, meaſure, or end. The kings, who glory ſo much in their puiſſance, have nothing which approaches in the leaſt to that of JESUS CHRIST. They do not reign over the will of man, which is real dominion. Their ſubjects can think as they pleaſe independently of them. There are an infinitude of particular actions done without their order, and which eſcape their knowledge, as well as their power. Their deſigns often miſcarry and

(*c*) Apoc. vi. 2.

and come to nothing, even during their own lives. But with JESUS CHRIST it is quite otherwiſe. (*d*) *All power is given unto him in heaven and in earth.* He exerciſes it principally upon the hearts and minds of men. Nothing is done without his order or permiſſion. Every thing is diſpoſed by his wiſdom and power. Every thing co-operates, directly or indirectly, to the accompliſhment of his deſigns.

Whilſt all things are in motion and fluctuate upon earth; whilſt ſtates and empires paſs away with incredible rapidity, and human race, vainly employed in the external view of theſe things, are alſo drawn in by the ſame torrent, almoſt without perceiving it; there paſſes in ſecret an order and diſpoſition of things unknown and inviſible, which however determine our fate to all eternity. The duration of ages has no other end, than the formation of the bodies of the elect, which augments and tends daily towards perfection. When it ſhall receive its final accompliſhment by the death of the laſt of the elect, (*e*) *Then cometh the end, when he ſhall have delivered up the kingdom to God, even the Father; when he ſhall have put down all rule, and all authority, and power.* God grant that we may have all our ſhare in that bleſſed kingdom, whoſe law is truth, whoſe king is love, and whoſe duration is eternity. *Fiat, Fiat.*

(*d*) Matth. xxviii. 18. (*e*) 1 Cor. xv. 24.

END OF VOL. VII.

THE

THE

# CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE.

## ADVERTISEMENT.

CHRONOLOGY is the knowledge of times. It ſhows to what year the events related in hiſtory are to be referred. The years uſed for meaſuring the duration of time are either ſolar or lunar.

The Solar Year is that ſpace between one equinox and another of the ſame denomination the next year: for inſtance, from the vernal equinox to the vernal equinox following, which contains 365 days five hours and forty-nine minutes.

The Lunar Year is compoſed of twelve lunar months, of which each is twenty-nine days twelve hours and forty-four minutes, that make in all 354 days, eight hours, and forty-eight minutes.

Both of theſe years are called Aſtronomical, to diſtinguiſh them from that vulgarly uſed, which is termed Civil or Political.

Though nations may not agree amongſt themſelves in the manner of determining their years, ſome regulating them by the ſun's motion, and others by the moon's, they however generally uſe the ſolar year in *chronology*. It ſeems at firſt, that as the lunar years are ſhorter than the ſolar, that inequality ſhould produce ſome error in chronological calculations. But it is to be obſerved, that the people who uſed lunar years, added a certain number of intercalary days to make them agree with the ſolar; which reconcile them with each other, or at leaſt, if there be any difference, it may

may be neglected, when the queſtion is only to determine the year in which a fact has happened.

In *Chronology* there are certain times diſtinguiſhed by ſome great event, to which all the reſt are referred. * Theſe are called *Epochs*, from a Greek word, which ſignifies to ſtay, becauſe we ſtay there to conſider, as from a reſting-place, all that has happened before or after, and by that means to avoid anachroniſms, that is to ſay, thoſe errors which induce confuſion of times.

The choice of the events which are to ſerve as epochs, is arbitrary, and a writer of hiſtory may take ſuch as beſt ſuit his plan.

When we begin to compute years from one of theſe points diſtinguiſhed by a conſiderable event, the enumeration and ſeries of ſuch years is called Æras. There are almoſt as many æras as there have been different nations. The principal, and moſt uſed, are thoſe of *the World*, of *Jeſus Chriſt*, of the *Olympiads*, and of *Rome*. I ſhould have been glad to have uſed all the four in the Chronological Table at the end of my hiſtory, But the narrow compaſs of theſe pages, obliges me to confine myſelf to the two moſt famous, that is to ſay, that of *the World*, and that of *Jeſus Chriſt*.

Every body knows, that the *Olympiads* derive their origin from the Olympick games, which were celebrated in Peloponneſus. near the city of Olympia. Theſe games were ſo ſolemn, that Greece made them her epoch for computing her years. By *Olympiad* is meant the ſpace of four years complete, which is the time that elapſed between one celebration of games and another. The firſt uſed by chronologers begins, according to Uſher, in the ſummer of the years of the World 3228, before Chriſt 776. When the time on which an event happened is reckoned by the *Olympiads*, authors ſay the firſt, ſecond, or third, *&c.* year of ſuch an Olympiad; which being once known, it is eaſy to find the year of the world to which the ſame fact is to be referred; and in like manner, when the year of the world

* Ἐποχή

world is known, it is eaſy to find that of the Olympiad which agrees with it.

Rome was built, according to Varro's Chronology, in the year of the world 3251, and the 753d before Jeſus Chriſt. Cato dates the foundation of that city two years later, in the year of the world 3253, before Jeſus Chriſt 751. I ſhall follow the opinion of the latter in my Roman hiſtory. The years reckoned from this *epoch* are called indifferently years of Rome, or years from the foundation of the city.

The *Julian period* is alſo a famous æra in *chronology*, uſed principally for reckoning the years before Chriſt. I am going to explain wherein this period conſiſts, and its uſe: but firſt I muſt give the reader an idea of the three *cycles*, of which it is compoſed.

By the word *cycle*, the revolution of a certain number of years is underſtood.

The Solar *Cycle* is a term of twenty-eight years, which includes all the variations that the Sundays and days of the week admit, that is to ſay, at the end of twenty-eight years the ſeven firſt letters of the alphabet, which are uſed in the calendar for noting the day of the week, and which are called Dominical letters, return in the ſame order in which they were at firſt. To underſtand what I have now ſaid, it muſt be obſerved, that if the year had only fifty-two weeks, there would be no change in the order of the nominical letters. But as it has a day more, and two in leap-year, that produces all the variations included in the ſpace of twenty-eight years, of which the ſolar *cycle* conſiſts.

The Lunar *Cycle*, called alſo the Golden Number, is the revolution of nineteen years, at the end of which the moon returns, within an hour and a half, to the ſame point with the ſun, and begins its lunations again in the ſame order as at firſt. We are indebted for the invention of the *cycle* to Methon, a famous Athenian aſtronomer. Before the invention of the epacts, it was uſed for marking the days of the new moon in the calendar.

Beſides

Beſides theſe two *cycles*, chronologers admit a third alſo, called *Indiction*. This is a revolution of fifteen years, of which the firſt is called the *firſt Indiction*, the ſecond the *ſecond Indiction*, and ſo on to the fifteenth, after which they begin again to count the firſt indiction, *&c.*

The firſt indiction is generally ſuppoſed to have began three years before the birth of Chriſt.

If theſe three cycles, that is to ſay, 28, 19 and 15, are multiplied by each other, the product will be 7980, which is what is called the *Julian period.*

One of the properties of this period, is to give the three characteriſtick cycles of each year, that is to ſay, the current year of each of the three cycles; for example, every body knows that the vulgar *æra* commences at the year 4714 of the *Julian period.* If that number be divided by 28, what remains * after the diviſion, ſhows the ſolar cycle of that year. In the ſame manner the lunar cycle and the indiction may be found. It is demonſtrated, that the three numbers which expreſs theſe three *cycles*, cannot be found again in the ſame order in any other year of the *Julian period.* It is the ſame in reſpect to the cycles of other years.

If we trace this period back to its firſt year, that is to ſay, to the year when the three cycles, of which it is compoſed, began, we ſhall find it precede the creation of the world 710 years; ſuppoſing the creation to precede the vulgar æra only 4004 years.

This period is called *Julian*, becauſe it is made to agree with the years of Julius Cæſar. Scaliger invented it to reconcile the ſyſtems that divided the chronologers concerning the length of time elapſed ſince the beginning of the world. There are who believe that only 4004 years of the world are to be reckoned before *Jeſus Chriſt.* Others give more extent to that ſpace, and augment the number of years of which it conſiſts. Theſe variations diſappear when the Julian period

* *I ſay what remains, and not the quotient, as ſome authors do; for the quotient expreſſes the number of* cycles *elapſed ſince the beginning of the period, and what remains after the diviſion, ſhows the year of the current cycle.*

period is uſed, for every body agrees in reſpect to the year in which it began, and there is nobody who does not know, that the firſt year of the vulgar *æra* falls in the 4714th of that period. Thus in the Julian period there are two fixed points, which unite all ſyſtems, and reconcile all chronologers.

It is eaſy to find the year of the *Julian period*, that anſwers to any year whatſoever of the vulgar æra of the world. For as the beginning of the *Julian period* precedes that æra 710 years, by adding that number to the year propoſed of the æra of the world, we have the year of the *Julian period* that anſwers to it. For inſtance, we know that the battle of Arbela was fought in the year of the world 3673. If to that number we add 710, it will be 4383, which number expreſſes the year of the *Julian period*, to which the battle of Arbela is to be referred.

It remains for me to ſay a few words upon the order I have obſerved in my Chronological Table. At firſt I propoſed to make as many columns as there are different nations in my book, whoſe hiſtory falls out in the ſame times, and to place them all in the ſame line with each other, in order that all the events that happened in the ſame year might be ſeen at one view. But, beſides my not having ſufficient room to place ſo many columns ſide by ſide with each other, I found that I ſhould have been obliged to leave too many blank ſpaces, which would have conſiderably lengthened the tables, and in conſequence ſwelled the volume, which, as it is, is very large. I therefore choſe to ſeparate the Carthaginians and Syracuſans, and to give their chronology apart. The hiſtories of thoſe two people are abundantly interwoven with each other, and have little relation to thoſe of the other nations of whom I have treated.

The reader knows that hitherto I have not entered into chronological diſcuſſions, and undoubtedly does not expect that I ſhould do ſo now. I ſhall generally follow Uſher, whom I have choſen for my guide in this ſubject.

## ASSYRIANS.

A. M. 1800. Ant. J. C. 2204.

NIMROD, founder of the firſt empire of the Aſſyrians.

NINUS, the ſon of Nimrod.

SEMIRAMIS; ſhe reigned 42 years.

NINYAS.

The hiſtory of the ſucceſſors of Ninyas for thirty generations, except of Phul and Sardanapalus, is unknown,



| A.M. | EGYPT. | GREECE. | Ant. J. C. |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1816. | MENES, or MESRAIM, firſt king of Egypt. | | 2188. |
| | BUSIRIS. | | |
| | OSYMANDIAS. | | |
| | UCHOREUS. | | |
| | MOERIS. | | |
| 1915. | | Foundation of the kingdom of Sicyon. | 2089. |
| 1920. | The king-ſhepherds ſeiſe the Lower Egypt. They reign 260 years. | | 2084. |
| 2084. | Abraham enters Egypt, where Sarah is in great danger from one of the king-ſhepherds. | | 1920. |
| 2148. | | Foundation of the kingdom of Argos. Deluge of Ogyges in Attica. | 1856. |
| 2179. | THETHMOSIS expels the king-ſhepherds, and reigns in the Lower Egypt. | | 1825. |
| 2276. | Joſeph is carried into Egypt, and ſold to Potiphar. | | 1728. |
| 2298. | Jacob goes into Egypt with his family. | | 1706. |
| 2427. | RAMESES MIAMUM begins to reign in Egypt. He perſecutes the Iſraelites. | | 1577. |
| 2448. | CECROPS carries a colony from Egypt, and founds the kingdom of Athens. | Foundation of the kingdom of Athens by Cecrops. He inſtitutes the Areopagus. | 1556. |

A.M. Ant. J.C.

2494. AMENOPHIS, the eldeſt ſon of Rameſes, ſucceeds him. 1510.

2513. The Iſraelites quit Egypt. Amenophis is ſwallowed up in the Red-ſea. Seſoſtris his ſon ſucceeds him. He divided Egypt into thirty names, or diſtricts, renders Ethiopia tributary, conquers Aſia, and ſubjects the Scythians as far as the Tanais. On his return into Egypt he kills himſelf after a reign of 33 years. 1491.

2547. PHERON ſucceeds Seſoſtris. 1457.

2800. PROTEUS. In his reign Paris is driven into Egypt on his return to Troy with Helen. 1204.

RHAMPSINITH.
CHEOPS.
CHEPHREM,
MYCERINUS.
ASYCHIS.

The ſix preceding reigns were 170 years in duration, but it is hard to aſſign the length of each of them in particular.

2991. PHARAOH, king of Egypt, gives his daughter in marriage to Solomon. 1013.

3026. SESAC, otherwiſe called Seſonchis. It was with him that Jeroboam took refuge. 978.



| A.M. | GREECE. | Ant.J.C. |
|---|---|---|
| 2488. | Under Cranaus, ſucceſſor of Cecrops, happens Deucalion's flood. | 1516. |
| | Foundation of the kingdom of Lacedæmonia, of which Lelex is the firſt king. | |
| 2530. | Danaus, brother of Seſoſtris, leaves Egypt, and retires into the Peloponneſus, where he makes himſelf maſter of Argos. | 1474. |
| | Perſeus, the fifth of Danaus's ſucceſſors, having unfortunately killed his grandfather, abandons Argos, and founds the kingdom of Mycæne. | |
| 2628. | Sisyphus, the ſon of Æolus, makes himſelf maſter of Corinth. | 1376. |
| 2710. | The deſcendents of Siſyphus are driven out of Corinth by the Heraclidæ. | 1294. |
| 2720. | Ægæus, the ſon of Pandion, king of Attica. The expedition of the Argonauts is dated in the reign of this prince. | 1284. |
| 2800. | The Heraclidæ make themſelves maſters of Peloponneſus, from whence they are obliged to retire ſoon after. | 1204. |
| 2820. | Troy taken by the Greeks. | 1184. |
| 2900. | The Heraclidæ re-enter Peloponneſus, and ſeiſe Sparta, where the brothers Euryſthenes and Procles reign together. | 1104. |
| 2934. | Inſtitution of the Archons at Athens. Medon, the ſon of Codros, is the firſt. | 1070. |
| 2943. | Cadmus builds the city of Thebes, and makes it the ſeat of his government. | 1061. |

| A.M. | EGYPT. | GREECE. | Ant. J.C. |
|---|---|---|---|
| 3033. | Sesac marches againſt Jeruſalem, and conquers Judæa. | | 971. |
| 3063. | Zara, king of Egypt, makes war with Aſa, king of Judah. | | 941. |
| | Anysis. In his reign Sabacus, king of Ethiopia, makes himſelf maſter of Egypt, reigns there fifty years, after which he retires, and leaves the kingdom to Anyſis. | | |
| 3120. | | Lycurgus. | 884. |
| 3160. | | Homer. Heſiod lived about the ſame time. | 884. |
| 3210. | | Caranus founds the kingdom of Macedonia. | 794. |
| 3228. | | Beginning of the common æra of the Olympiads. | 776. |

A.M. I return to the chronology of the Aſſyrians, which I diſcontinued, becauſe from Ninyas, down to about this time, nothing is known of their hiſtory. Ant. J.C.

## ASSYRIANS.

3233. PHUL, the king of Nineveh, who repented upon Jonah's preaching. 771.

3237. SARDANAPALUS, the laſt king of the firſt empire of the Aſſyrians. After a reign of twenty years, he burns himſelf in his palace. 767.

The firſt empire of the Aſſyrians, which ended at the death of Sardanapalus, had ſubſiſted more than 1450 years. Out of its ruins three others were formed, that of the Aſſyrians of Babylon, that of the Aſſyrians of Nineveh, and that of the Medes.

| A. M. | EGYPT. | GREECE. | Ant. J. C. |
|---|---|---|---|
| 3261. | | First war between the Meſſenians and Lacedæmonians. It continues twenty years. | 743. |
| 3280. | | Archilochus the famous poet. | 724. |
| 3285. | SEHON. He reigned fourteen years. | | 719. |

| A. M. | BABYL. | NINEVEH. | MEDIA. | LYDIA. | Ant. J. C. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 3257. | BELESIS, or NABONASSAR. The ſcripture calls him Baladan. | THEGLATH PHALASAH. The 8th year of his reign he aids Ahaz, king of Judah, & makes himſelf maſter of Syria, and of part of the kingdom of Judah. | ARBACES exerciſes the ſovereign authority over the Medes, without takeing upon him the title of king. | | 747. |
| | | | | The Heraclidæ poſſeſs the kingdom of Lydia 505 years. Argon was the firſt king. He began to reign in the year of the world 2781. The hiſtory of his ſucceſſors is little known before Candaules. | |
| 3268. | MERODACH BALADAN. He ſent ambaſſadors to Hezekiah, to congratulate him upon the recovery of his health. Nothing is known of the other kings who reigned in Babylon. | | | | 736. |
| 3269. | | | | CANDAULES. | 735. |
| | | SALMANASAR. The 8th year of his reign he took Samaria, and carried away the people into captivity. | | | |

| A. M. | EGYPT. | GREECE. | Ant. J. C. |
|---|---|---|---|
| 3298. | THARACA reigns 18 years. Anarchy two years in Egypt. | | 706. |
| 3319. | Twelve of the principal lords of Egypt seise the kingdom, of which each governs a part with equal authority. | | 685. |
| 3320. | | Second war between the Lacedæmonians and Messenians 14 years. | 684. |

| A. M. | BABYL. | NINEVEH. | MEDIA. | LYDIA. | Ant. J. C. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 3286. | | | | GYGES. He puts Candaules to death, and reigns in his ſtead. | 718. |
| 3287. | | SENNACHERIB. In the fifth year of his reign he makes war againſt Hezekiah, king of Judah.<br>An angel deſtroys his army at the time he is beſieging Jeruſalem.<br>On his return to his kingdom, he is killed by his two ſons. | | | 717 |
| 3294. | | ASARHADDON. | | | 710. |
| 3296. | | | DEJOCES cauſes himſelf to be declared king of the Medes. | | 708. |

| A. M. | EGYPT. | GREECE. | Ant. J. C. |
|---|---|---|---|
| 3334. | PSAMMITICUS, one of the twelve kings, defeats the other eleven, and remains sole master of Egypt. He takes Azoth after a siege of 29 years. | | 670. |

| A. M. | BABYL. | NINEVEH. | MEDIA. | LYDIA. | Ant. J. C. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 3323. | | ASARHADDON unites the empire of Babylon with that of Nineveh. | | | 681. |
| 3324. | | | | Death of Gyges. ARDYS his ſon ſucceeds him. In his reign, of 49 years, the Cimmerians made themſelves maſters of Sardis. | 680. |
| 3327. | | ASARHADDON carries the remains of the kingdom of Iſrael into Aſſyria. The ſame year he puts Manaſſeh in chains, and carries him into Babylon. | | | 677. |

| A. M. | EGYPT. | GREECE. | Ant. J. C. |
|---|---|---|---|
| 3364 | | Tyrteus, a poet who excelled in celebrating military virtue.<br>Thales of Miletus, founder of the Ionick sect. | 640. |

| A. M. | NIN. ET BAB. | MEDIA. | LYDIA. | Ant. J. C. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 3335. | SAOSDUCHIN, or NABUCHADONOSOR I. The twelfth year of his reign he defeats Phraortes, king of the Medes, and takes Ecbatana. It was after this expedition that he made Holophernes besiege Bethulia. | | | 669. |
| 3347. | | Death of Dejoces. PHRAORTES succeeds him. | | 657. |
| 3356. | Death of Nabuchadonosor. Saracus, called also CHYNALADANUS, succeeded him. | | | 648. |
| 3369. | | Phraortes perishes at the siege of Nineveh with part of his army. CYAXARES his son succeeds him. The second year of his reign he beats the Assyrians, and attacks Nineveh, the siege of which he is obliged to abandon by a sudden irruption of the Scythians into his dominions. | | 635. |

| A. M. | EGYPT. | GREECE. | Ant. J. C. |
|---|---|---|---|
| 3380. | | DRACO, legislator of Athens. | 624. |
| 3388. | NECHAO. The seventh year of his reign he defeats the king of Assyria, and seises part of his dominions. He reigned fifteen years. | | 616. |

| A. M. | NIN. ET BAB. | MEDIA. | LYDIA. | Ant. J. C. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 3373. | | | SADYATTES. He forms the siege of Miletus in the sixteenth year of his reign. | 631. |
| 3378. | NABOPOLASSAR's revolt against Saracus. He makes himself master of Babylon. | Cyaxares joins his forces with those of Nabopolassar, takes Nineveh, and puts Saracus its king to death. | | 626. |
| | Destruction of Nineveh. From thenceforth Babylon was the capital of the Assyrian empire. | | | |
| 3385. | | | ALYATTES. He continues the siege of Miletus, which had been carried on six years by his father, and puts an end to it six years after by concluding a peace with the besieged. In the same prince's reign there was a war between the Medes and Lydians, which was terminated by the marriage of Cyaxares with Aryenis the daughter of Alyattes. | 619. |

| A.M. | EGYPT. | GREECE. | Ant. J.C. |
|---|---|---|---|
| 3400. | | SOLON. The ſeven ſages of Greece lived about this time. ALCÆUS, from whom the Alcaick verſes take their name. SAPPHO, at the ſame time. | 604. |
| 3404. | PSAMMIS ſix years. | | 600. |

| A. M. | BABYLON. | MEDIA. | LYDIA. | Ant. J. C. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 3397. | Nabopolaſſar aſſociates his ſon Nabuchadonoſor in the empire, and ſends him at the head of an army to re-conquer the countries taken from him by Nechao. | | | 607. |
| 3398. | Jeruſalem taken by Nabuchadonoſor. He tranſports a great number of Jews to Babylon, and amongſt them the prophet Daniel. The captivity begins from this carrying away the Jews to Babylon. | | | 606. |
| 3399. | Death of Nabopolaſſor. His ſon NABUCHADONOSOR II. ſucceeds him in all his dominions. | | | 605. |
| 3403. | Nabuchadonoſor's firſt dream interpreted by Daniel. | | | 601. |
| 3404. | | ASTYAGES, the ſon of Cyaxares, gives his daughter in marriage to Cam- | | 602. |

EGYPT. GREECE.

A. M. Ant. J. C.

3410 APRIES. He makes himself master of Sidon, in the first year of his reign. 594.

3411. Zedekiah, king of Judah, makes an alliance with the king of Egypt, contrary to the advice of the prophet Jeremiah. 593.

| A. M. | BABYLON. | MEDIA. | LYDIA. | Ant. J. C. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | Cambyſes, king of Perſia. | | |
| 3405. | Nabuchadonoſor's lieutenants, after having ravaged Judæa, blockade Jeruſalem, and put king Jehoiakim to death. About the end of the ſame year, Nabuchadonoſor repairs in perſon to Jeruſalem, makes himſelf maſter of it, and appoints Zedekiah king inſtead of Jehoiachin, whom he carries into captivity. | Birth of Cyrus. | | 599. |
| 3409. | | Death of Cyaxares. Aſtyages his ſon ſucceeds him. He reigns thirty-five years. | | 595. |
| 3416. | Nabuchadonoſor deſtroys Jeruſalem, and carries away Zedekiah captive to Babylon. At his return into his dominions | Cyrus goes for the firſt time into Media, to ſee his grandfather Aſtyages. He remains three years with him. | | 588. |

| A. M. | EGYPT. | GREECE. | Ant. J. C. |
|---|---|---|---|
| 3430. | Unfortunate expedition of Apries into Libya. Amasis revolts against Apries. | | 574. |
| 3432. | Nabuchadonosor subjects Egypt, and confirms Amasis in the throne. | | 572. |
| 3435. | Apries dies in the twenty-fifth year of his reign. AMASIS reigns after him in peace. | | 569. |
| 3440. | | THESPIS reforms tragedy. PYTHAGORAS lived about this time. | 564. |
| 3444. | | SIMONIDES, the celebrated poet. | 560. |

| A.M. | BABYLON. | MEDIA. | LYDIA. | Ant. J. C. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | ons he cauſes the three young Hebrews to be thrown into the furnace. | | | |
| 3432. | Nabuchadonoſor makes himſelf maſter of Tyre, after a ſiege of thirteen years. He did not march againſt Egypt till after this expedition. | | | 572. |
| 3434. | Nabuchadonoſor's ſecond dream interpreted by Daniel. | | | 570. |
| 3435. | Nabuchadonoſor reduced to the condition of beaſts during ſeven years, after which he reigns again one year. EVIL-MERODACH his ſon ſucceeds him. He reigns only two years. | | | 569. |
| 3442. | | | CROESUS. | 562. |
| 3444. | NERIGLISSOR. He makes great pre- | Death of Aſtyages. CYAXARES ſuc- | Æsop lived in his reign, and was in his court at the | 560. |

| A.M. | EGYPT. | GREECE. | Ant. J.C. |
|---|---|---|---|
| 3445. | | PISISTRATUS makes himself master of Athens. | 559. |
| 3460. | | HYPPONAX, author of the verse Scazon. | 544. |
| | | HERACLITUS, chief of the sect which bears his name. | |

| A.M. | BABYLON. | MEDIA. | LYDIA. | Ant. J.C. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | preparations for war againſt the Medes, and calls Crœſus to his aid. | ſucceeds him, known in the ſcripture under the name of Darius the Mede. | the ſame time with Solon. | |
| 3445. | | Cyrus returns into Media for the ſecond time, in order to aſſiſt his uncle in the war with the Babylonians. | | 559. |
| 3447. | | Expedition of Cyrus againſt the king of Armenia. | | 557. |
| 3448. | | Cyaxares and Cyrus defeat the Babylonians in a great battle, in which Nerigliſſor is ſlain. | Crœſus flies before Cyrus. | 556. |
| | LABOROSOARCHOD. He reigns only nine months. | | | |
| 3449. | LABYNIT, called in ſcripture Belſhazzar. | | | 555. |
| | | About this time the marriage of Cyrus with the daughter of his uncle Cyaxares may be dated. | | |
| 3456. | | | Battle of Thymbrea between Crœſus and Cyrus, followed with the taking of Sardis by the latter. End of the kingdom of Lydia. | 548. |

| A.M. | EGYPT. | GREECE. | Ant. J. C. |
|---|---|---|---|
| 3464. | | Birth of Æschylus. | 540. |
| | | Ctesiphon, or Chersiphron, a celebrated architect, famous especially for building the temple of Diana of Ephesus. | |
| 3478. | | Death of Pisistratus. Hippias his son succeeds him. | 526. |
| 3479. | Psammenitus. He reigns only six months. After the death of that prince, Egypt is annexed to the Persian dominions, and continues so till the reign of Alexander the Great, which includes the space of two hundred and six years. | | 525. |

| A.M. | BABYLON. | MEDES. | Ant. J. C. |
|---|---|---|---|
| 3466. | Labynit is killed at the taking of Babylon. The death of that prince puts an end to the Babylonian empire, which is united with that of the Medes. | Cyrus makes himſelf maſter of Babylon. | 538. |
| 3468. | | Death of Cyaxares. | 536. |

After the death of Cyaxares and Cambyſes, Cyrus, who ſucceeded both in their dominions, united the empire of the Medes with thoſe of the Babylonians and Perſians, and of the three formed a fourth under the name of the empire of the Perſians, which ſubſiſted two hundred and ſix years.

*Empire of the* PERSIANS.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 3468. | CYRUS. The firſt year of his reign he permits the Jews to return into Judæa. | 356. |
| 3470. | Daniel's viſion concerning the ſucceſſion of the kings of Perſia. | |
| 3475. | Cyrus dies on a tour which he makes into Perſia, after having reigned ſeven years alone, and thirty from his ſetting out from Perſia at the head of an army to aid Cyaxares. | |
| | CAMBYSES his ſon ſucceeds him. The fourth year of his reign he attacks Egypt, and re-unites it to the empire of the Perſians. | |

A. M. Ant. J. C.

3490. MILTIADES goes to ſettle in the Cherſoneſus. 514.
3496. The Piſiſtratidæ are obliged to abandon Attica. 508.

| A. M. | PERSIANS. | Ant. J. C. |
|---|---|---|
| 3480. | Unſucceſsful expedition of Cambyſes againſt the Ethiopians. | 524. |
| 3481. | Cambyſes puts Meroe, who was both his ſiſter and wife to death. | 523. |
| | It was about this time that Oretes, one of the Satrapæ of Cambyſes, made himſelf maſter of the iſland of Samos, and cauſed Polycrates, the tyrant of it, to be put to death. | |
| 3482. | Death of Cambyſes. SMERDIS the Magus, who had mounted the throne before the death of Cambyſes, ſucceeds him. He reigns only ſeven months. | 522. |
| 3483. | DARIUS the ſon of Hyſtapes. | 521. |
| 3485. | Edict of Darius in favour of the Jews, wherein that of Cyrus is repealed. It is believed, that what is related in the hiſtory of Eſther, happened ſome time after the publication of this edict. | 519. |
| 3488. | Babylon revolts againſt Darius, and is taken after a ſiege of twenty months. | 516. |
| 3490. | Expedition of Darius againſt the Scythians. | 514. |
| 3496. | Darius penetrates into India, and reduces all that great country into ſubjection. | |

The hiſtory of the Greeks from henceforth will be intermixed and almoſt confounded with that of the Perſians, for which reaſon I ſhall ſeparate their chronology no farther.

## PERSIANS AND GREEKS.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 3501. | The Perſians form the ſiege of the capital of the iſland of Naxos, and are obliged to raiſe it in ſix months. | 503. |
| 3502. | Ariſtagoras, governor of Miletus, revolts from Darius, and brings the Ionians and Athenians into his meaſures. | 502. |
| 3504. | The Ionians make themſelves maſters of Sardis, and burn it. | 500. |
| 3507. | The Perſians defeat the Ionians in a ſea-fight before the iſland of Lados, and make themſelves maſters of Miletus. | 497. |
| | ÆSCHYLUS. | |
| 3510. | Darius ſends Gobryas his ſon-in-law at the head of an army to attack Greece. | 494. |
| | ANACREON. | |
| 3513. | Darius takes the command of his armies from Gobryas, and gives it to Datis and Artaphernes. | 491. |

Battle

| A.M. | PERSIANS AND GREEKS. | Ant. J.C. |
|---|---|---|
| 3514. | Battle of Marathon. | 490. |
| 3515. | Unfortunate end of Miltiades, | 489. |
| 3519. | Death of Darius Hyſtaſpes. XERXES his ſon ſucceeds him. | |
| 3520. | Birth of the hiſtorian HERODOTUS. | 484. |
| 3524. | Xerxes ſets out to make war againſt the Greeks. | 480. |
| | Battle of Thermopylæ. Leonidas, king of the Lacedæmonians, is killed in it. Sea-fight near Artemiſium, at the ſame time as the battle of Thermopylæ. | |
| | Birth of EURIPIDES. | |
| | Battle of Salamin, followed by the precipitate return of Xerxes into Perſia. | |
| 3525. | Battle of Platææ. Sea-fight the ſame day near Mycale, in which the Perſians are defeated. | 479. |
| 3526. | The Athenians rebuild the walls of their city, which had been demoliſhed by Xerxes, notwithſtanding the oppoſition of the Lacedæmonians. | 478 |
| 3528. | The command of the armies of Greece, of which the Lacedæmonians had been in poſſeſſion from the battle of Thermopylæ, is transferred to the Athenians. | 476. |
| | PINDAR flouriſhed about this time. | |
| 3530. | PAUSANIAS, general of the Lacedæmonians, accuſed of holding ſecret intelligence with Xerxes, is put to death. | 474. |
| 3531. | THEMISTOCLES, the Athenian general, is accuſed of having had a ſhare in Pauſanias's plot, and takes refuge with Admetus, king of the Moloſſians. | 473. |
| | SOPHOCLES and EURIPIDES appear in Greece about this time. | |
| 3532. | Xerxes is killed by Artabanus, the captain of his guards. | 472 |
| | ARTAXERXES, ſurnamed LONGIMANUS, ſucceeds him. Themiſtocles takes refuge in his court the firſt year of his reign. | |
| 3533. | CIMON receives the command of the armies at Athens. The year following he defeats the Perſians, and takes their fleet near the mouth of the river Eurimedon. | 471. |
| | Birth of the hiſtorian THUCYDIDES. | |
| 3534. | Great earthquake at Sparta in the reign of Archidamus, which makes way for a ſedition of the Helots. | |
| | Birth of SOCRATES. | |
| 3535. | Beginning of Pericles. | 469 |
| | PHIDIAS, famous for his ſkill in architecture and ſculpture. | |
| | Difference and miſunderſtanding between the Athenians and Lacedæmonians, occaſioned by the affront offered to the Athenians by the Lacedæmonians in ſending back | |

back their troops, after having called in their aid againſt the Meſſenians and Helots. Some time after, and in conſequence of this quarrel, Cimon is baniſhed by the Oſtraciſm.

3537 Esdras obtains a commiſſion from Artaxerxes to return to Jeruſalem with all who are willing to follow him. 467.

3538 Themiſtocles puts an end to his life at Magneſia. 466.

3540 Herodicus of Sicily, chief of the ſect of phyſicians, called Διαιτητικὸς. Hippocrates was his diſciple. 464.

3544 The Egyptians, ſupported by the Athenians, revolt againſt Artaxerxes. 460

3545. Defeat of the Perſian army in Egypt. 459.

3548. The Egyptians and Athenians are beaten in their turn. In conſequence of which all Egypt returns to its obedience to Artaxerxes, and the Athenians retire to Danarus, where they ſuſtain a ſiege of a year. 456.

Battle of Tanagra in Bœotia, where the Athenians beat the Spartans, who were come to the aid of the Bœotians.

3550 Nehemiah obtains Artaxerxes's permiſſion to return to Jeruſalem. 454.

3554. Birth of Xenophon. 450.

Cimon, recalled from baniſhment after five years abſence, reconciles the Athenians and Spartans, and makes them conclude a truce of five years.

3555. End of the war between the Greeks and Perſians, which had continued, from the burning of Sardis by the Athenians, fifty-one years. 449.

Death of Cimon.

3558. The Lacedæmonians conclude a truce for thirty years with the Athenians. The latter ſoon break it by new enterpriſes. 446.

Empedocles, the Pythagorean philoſopher, flouriſhed about this time.

Myron, the famous ſculptor of Athens.

3564 Pericles makes war with the Samians, and takes the capital of their iſland after a ſiege of nine months. 440.

Zeuxis, the famous painter, diſciple of Apollodorus.

Parrhasius his rival lived at the ſame time.

Aristophanes, the comick poet.

3568. Birth of Isocrates. 436.

War between the Corinthians and the people of Corcyra. The Athenians engage in it in favour of the Corcyreans. The inhabitants of Potidæa declare on the ſide of Corinth againſt Athens. Alcibiades begins to appear in this war, which occaſions that of Peloponneſus.

Scopas, architect and ſculptor.

A. M. PERSIANS AND GREEKS. Ant. J. C.

3573. Beginning of the Peloponneſian war. It ſubſiſts twenty-ſeven years. 431.

3574. A terrible plague rages in Attica. The phyſician Hippocrates diſtinguiſhes himſelf by his extraordinary care of the ſick. 430.

3575. Death of Pericles. 429.

3576. The Lacedæmonians beſiege Platæa. 428.

PLUTO, founder of the ancient academy.

3579. Death of Artaxerxes. XERXES his ſon ſucceeds him. He reigns only forty-five days. 425.

SOGDIANUS puts Xerxes to Death, and cauſes himſelf to be acknowledged king in his ſtead. His reign continues only ſix months.

3580. OCHUS, known under the name of DARIUS NOTHUS, rids himſelf of Sogdianus, and ſucceeds him. 424.

The Athenians, under Nicias, make themſelves maſters of Cythera.

Thucydides is baniſhed by the Athenians, whoſe army he commanded, for having ſuffered Amphipolis to be taken.

POLYGNOTUS, famed particularly for his painting in the portico called Ποικίλη at Athens in which he repreſented the principal events of the Trojan war.

3583. Treaty of peace concluded, by the application of Nicias, between the Lacedæmonians and Athenians, in the tenth year from the beginning of the Lacedæmonian war. Alcibiades, by an impoſture, occaſions its being broke the following year. 421.

3584. *The baniſhment* of Hyperbolus puts an end to *the Oſtraciſm.* 420.

3588. Alcibiades engages the Athenians to aſſiſt the people of Egeſta againſt the Syracuſans. 416.

3589. Alcibiades, one of the generals ſent to Sicily by the Athenians, is recalled to Athens, to anſwer accuſations againſt him. He flies to Sparta, and is condemned for contumacy. 415.

3590. Piſuthnes, governor of Syria, revolts againſt Darius. The Egyptians do the ſame, and chooſe Amyrtæus for their king, who reigns ſix years. 414.

3593. Alcibiades, to avoid the envy which his great actions had drawn upon him at Sparta, throws himſelf into the arms of Tiſſaphernes, one of the king of Perſia's ſatraps. The Lacedæmonians, by the help of Tiſſaphernes, conclude a treaty of alliance with the king of Perſia. 411.

3595. Alcibiades is recalled to Athens. His return occaſions the abolition of the Four Hundred, who had been inveſted with ſupreme authority. 409.

Darius gives Cyrus, his youngeſt ſon, the government in chief of all the provinces of Aſia Minor.

LYSANDER

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3598. Lysander is placed at the head of the Lacedæmonians. He defeats the Athenians near Epheſus. In conſequence of that defeat Alcibiades is depoſed, and ten generals are nominated to ſucceed him. 406.

3599. Callicrapidas has the command of the army in the room of Lyſander, from whom the Lacedæmonians had taken it. He is killed in a ſea-fight near the Arguniſæ. 405.

Lyſander is reſtored to the command of the Lacedæmonian army. He gains a famous victory over the Athenians at Ægoſpotamos.

Conon, who commanded the Athenian forces, retires after his defeat to Evagoras, king of Cyprus.

3600. Lyſander makes himſelf maſter of Athens, changes the form of the government, and eſtabliſhes thirty Archons, commonly called the thirty Tyrants. 404.

End of the Peloponneſian war.

Death of Darius Nothus. Arsaces, his ſon, ſucceeds him, and takes the name of Artaxerxes Mnemon.

Cyrus the Younger intends to aſſaſſinate his brother Artaxerxes. His deſign being diſcovered, he is ſent to the maritime provinces, of which he was governor.

3601. Interview of Cyrus the Younger and Lyſander at Sardis. 403.

Thraſybulus expels the tyrants of Athens, and reeſtabliſhes its liberty.

3602. Cyrus the Younger prepares for a war with his brother Artaxerxes. 402.

3603. Defeat and death of Cyrus the Younger at Cunaxa, followed by the retreat of the Ten Thouſand. 401.

Death of Socrates.

3604. Lacedæmon declares war againſt Tiſſaphernes and Pharnabaſus. 400.

3606. Beginning of Amyntas, king of Macedonia, father of Philip. 398.

3607. Ageſilaus is elected king of Sparta. The year following he goes to Attica, to the aid of the Greeks ſettled there. 397.

3609. Lyſander quarrels with Ageſilaus, and undertakes to change the order of the ſucceſſion to the throne. 395.

The army of Tiſſaphernes is defeated near Sardis by Ageſilaus.

3610. Thebes, Argos, and Corinth, enter into a league againſt Lacedæmon, at the ſollicitation of the Perſians. Athens enters into the ſame league ſoon after. Ageſilaus is recalled by the Ephori to the aſſiſtance of his country. 394.

The fleet of the Lacedæmonians is defeated near Cnidos by Pharnabaſus, and Conon the Athenian, who com-

commanded that of the Perſians and Greeks. Ageſilaus defeats the Thebans almoſt at the ſame time in the plains of Coronæa.

Conon rebuilds the walls of Athens.

3617. Peace ſhameful to the Greeks concluded by the Perſians by Antalcides the Lacedæmonian. 387.

3618. Artaxerxes attacks EVAGORAS, king of Cyprus, with all his forces, and gains a ſignal victory over him. 386.

It is followed by the ſiege of Salamin, which is terminated by a treaty of peace.

3620. Expedition of Artaxerxes againſt the Caduſians. 384.

Birth of ARISTOTLE, founder of the Peripateticks.

3621. The Lacedæmonians declare war againſt the city of Olynthus. 383.

Birth of PHILIP, king of Macedon.

3622. PHÆBIDAS, on his way to the ſiege of Olynthus, at the head of part of the army of the Lacedæmonians, makes himſelf maſter of the citadel of Thebes. 382.

Birth of DEMOSTHENES.

3626. Pelopidas, at the head of the reſt of the exiles, kills the tyrants of Thebes, and retakes the citadel. 378.

3627. Artaxerxes Mnemon undertakes to reduce Egypt, which had thrown off his yoke for ſome years. He employs above two years in making preparation for that war. 377.

3629. Death of Amyntas, king of Macedonia. ALEXANDER his eldeſt ſon ſucceeds him. He reigns only two years. PERDICCAS aſcends the throne next, and reigns fourteen years. 375.

3630. Death of Evagoras, king of Cyprus. NICOCLES his ſon ſucceeds him. 374.

3634. Battle of Leuctra, in which the Thebans under Epaminondas and Pelopidas, defeat the Lacedæmonians. 370.

3635. Expedition of Pelopidas againſt Alexander, tyrant of Pheræ. He goes to Macedonia to terminate the differences between Perdiccas and Ptolemy ſon of Amyntas, concerning the crown. He carries Philip with him to Thebes as an hoſtage. He is killed in a battle which he fights with the tyrant of Pheræ. 369.

3641. Battle of Mantinæa. Epaminondas is killed in it, after having ſecured the victory to the Thebans. 363.

3642. The Lacedæmonians ſend Ageſilaus to aid Tachos, king of Egypt, againſt Artaxerxes. He dethrones Tachos, and gives the crown to Nectanebus. He dies on his return from that expedition. 362.

Death of Artaxerxes Mnemon. OCHUS his ſon ſucceeds him.

3644. PHILIP aſcends the throne of Macedonia. He makes a captious peace with the Athenians. 360.

The

The hiſtory of the Cappadocians begins at this time, the chronology of whoſe kings I ſhall give after that of Alexander's ſucceſſors. I ſhall annex it to that of the Parthians, and of the kings of Pontus.

3646. War of the allies with the Athenians. It continued three years. 358.

Philip beſieges and takes Amphipolis.

3648. Revolt of Artabaſus againſt Ochus king of Perſia. 356.

Birth of ALEXANDER THE GREAT.

3649. Demoſthenes appears in publick for the firſt time, and encourages the Athenians, alarmed by the preparations of war making by the king of Perſia. 355.

Beginning of the ſacred war.

3650. Death of Mauſolus, king of Caria. 354.

3651. Philip makes himſelf maſter of the city of Methone. 353.

3652. ARTEMISIA, widow of Mauſolus, to whom ſhe had ſucceeded, takes Rhodes. 352.

Philip attempts to ſeiſe Thermopylæ in vain.

3653. Succeſsful expedition of Ochus againſt Phœnicia, Cyprus, and afterwards Egypt. 351.

3654. Nectanebus, the laſt king of Egypt of the Egyptian race is obliged to fly into Ethiopia, from whence he never returns. 350.

3656. Death of Plato. 348.

Philip makes himſelf maſter of Olynthus.

3658. Philip ſeiſes Thermopylæ, and part of Phocis. He cauſes himſelf to be admitted into the number of the Amphictyons. 346.

3662. Oration of Demoſthenes, concerning the Cherſoneſus in favour of Diopithus. 342.

3665. The Athenians ſend aid under Phocion to the cities of Perinthus and Byzantium, beſieged by Philip. That prince is obliged to raiſe the ſiege. 339.

3666. Philip is declared generaliſſimo of the Greeks in the council of the Amphictyons. He makes himſelf maſter of Elatæa. 338.

Battle of Cheronæa, wherein Philip defeats the Athenians and the Thebans, who had entered into a league againſt him.

Ochus, king of Perſia, is poiſoned by Bagoas his favourite. ARSES, his ſon, ſucceeds him, and reigns only three years.

3667. Philip cauſes himſelf to be declared general of the Greeks againſt the Perſians. The ſame year he repudi- 337.

ates his wife Olympias. His ſon Alexander attends her into Epirus, from whence he goes to Illyria.

3668. Philip's death. ALEXANDER, his ſon, then twenty years of age, ſucceeds him. 336.

ARSES, king of Perſia, is aſſaſſinated by Bagoas.

DARIUS CODOMANUS ſucceeds him.

3669. Thebes taken and deſtroyed by Alexander. He cauſes himſelf to be declared generaliſſimo of the Greeks againſt the Perſians in a diet aſſembled at Corinth. 335.

3670. Alexander ſets out for Perſia. 334.

Battle of the Granicus, followed with the conqueſt of almoſt all Aſia Minor.

3671. Alexander is taken at Tarſus with a dangerous illneſs, from having bathed in the river Cydnus. He is cured in a few days. 333.

Battle of Iſſus.

3672. Alexander makes himſelf maſter of Tyre, after a ſiege of ſeven months. 332.

APELLES, one of the moſt famous painters of antiquity. ARISTIDES and PROTOGENES were his contemporaries.

Alexander goes to Jeruſalem. He makes himſelf maſter of Gaza, and ſoon after of all Egypt. He went after this conqueſt to the temple of Jupiter-Ammon, and at his return built the city of Alexandria.

3673. Battle of Arbela. It is followed with the taking of Arbela, Babylon, Suſa, and Perſepolis. 331.

3674. Darius is ſeiſed and laden with chains by Beſſus, and ſoon after aſſaſſinated. His death puts an end to the Perſian empire, which had ſubſiſted two hundred and ſix years from its foundation under Cyrus the Great. 330.

The Lacedæmonians revolt againſt the Macedonians. Antipater defeats them in a battle, wherein Agis their king is killed.

Thaleſtris, queen of the Amazons, comes to ſee Alexander at Zadracrata.

Philotas and Parmenio his father, ſuſpected of having conſpired with others againſt Alexander, are put to death.

3675. Beſſus is brought to Alexander, and ſoon after put to death. 329.

Alexander, after having ſubdued the Sogdians and Bactrians, builds a city upon the Iaxartes, to which he gives his name.

Embaſſy of the Scythians to Alexander, followed by a victory gained by him over that people.

LYSIP-

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Lysippus of Sicyon, a famous ſculptor, flouriſhed about this time.

3676. Alexander makes himſelf maſter of the rocky eminence of Oxus. 328.

Clitus is killed by Alexander at a feaſt in Maracanda. The death of Calliſthenes happens ſoon after.

Alexander marries Roxana the daughter of Oxyartes.

3677. Alexander's entrance into India. He gains a great victory over Porus in paſſing the Hydaſpes. 327.

3678. On the remonſtrances of his army, Alexander determines to march back. 326.

The city of Oxydracæ taken. Alexander in great danger there.

3679. Alexander's marriage with Statira, the eldeſt daughter of Darius. 325.

Revolt of Harpalus, whom Alexander had made governor of Babylon.

Demoſthenes is baniſhed for having received preſents, and ſuffered himſelf to be corrupted by Harpalus.

3680. Death of Hephæſtion at Ecbatana. 324.

Menander, the inventor of the new comedy, lived about this time.

3681. Alexander, on his return to Babylon, dies there, at the age of two-and-thirty years and eight months. Aridæus, that prince's natural brother, is declared king in his ſtead. The regency of the kingdom is given to Perdiccas. 323.

The generals divide the provinces amongſt themſelves. From this diviſion commences the æra of the empire of the Lagides in Egypt.

The Athenians revolt, and engage the ſtates of Greece to enter into a league with them. Demoſthenes is recalled from baniſhment.

3682. Antipater is beſieged in Lamia by the Athenians, and is forced to ſurrender by capitulation. He ſoon after ſeiſes Athens, and puts a garriſon into it. 322.

Death of Demoſthenes.

3683. Alexander's magnificent funeral. 321.

Perdiccas puts Eumenes into poſſeſſion of Cappadocia.

League of Ptolemy, Craterus, Antipater, and Antigonus, againſt Perdiccas and Eumenes.

Death of Craterus.

Unfortunate end of Perdiccas in Egypt. Antipater ſucceeds him in the regency of the empire.

3684. Eumenes defeated by Antigonus, ſhuts himſelf up in the caſtle of Nora, where he ſuſtains a ſiege of a year. 320.

| A. M. | PERSIANS AND GREEKS. | Ant. J.C. |
|---|---|---|
| | PTOLEMY makes himſelf maſter of Jeruſalem. | |
| 3685. | Death of Antipater. POLYSPERCHON ſucceeds him. | 319. |
| | Phocion's condemnation and death at Athens. | |
| | CASSANDER, ſon of Antipater, ſeiſes Athens, and ſettles Demetrius Phalereus there to govern the republick. | |
| 3687. | Olympias, the mother of Alexander, cauſes Aridæus, and Euridice his wife, to be put to death, as ſhe herſelf is ſoon after by order of Caſſander. | 317. |
| 3689. | Eumenes is delivered up to Antigonus by his own ſoldiers, and put to death. | 315. |
| 3691. | ANTIGONUS takes Tyre after a ſiege of fifteen months. Demetrius his ſon, ſurnamed Poliorcetes, begins to appear. | 313. |
| 3692. | ZENO inſtitutes the ſect of the Stoicks at Athens. | 312. |
| 3693. | SELEUCUS makes himſelf maſter of Babylon, and the neighbouring provinces. | 311. |
| | At this expedition of Seleucus againſt Babylon begins the famous æra of the Seleucides, called by the Jews the æra of contracts. | |
| | Ptolemy retires into Egypt, and carries a great number of the inhabitants of Phœnicia and Judæa thither along with him. | |
| | Caſſander cauſes Roxana, and her ſon Alexander, to be put to death. | |
| 3695. | Polyſperchon puts Hercules, the ſon of Alexander, and his mother Berenice to death. | 309 |
| 3696. | Ophellas, governor of Libya, revolts againſt Ptolemy. | 308. |
| 3698. | DEMETRIUS POLIORCETES makes himſelf maſter of Athens, and re-eſtabliſhes the democratical government. The ſame year he makes himſelf maſter of Salamin, and the whole iſland of Cyprus. | 306 |
| | Demetrius Phalereus, who commanded at Athens, retires to Thebes. The Athenians throw down his ſtatues, and condemn him to death. | |
| | Antigonus, and his ſon Demetrius, aſſume the title of kings. The other princes follow their example, and do the ſame. | |
| 3699. | Antigonus, to make the moſt of his ſon's victory in Cyprus, undertakes to deprive Ptolemy of Egypt. That expedition does not ſucceed. | 305. |
| | Ptolemy the aſtronomer fixes the beginning of the reign of Ptolemy king of Egypt on the 7th of November of this year. | |
| 3700. | Demetrius Poliorcetes forms the ſiege of Rhodes, which he is forced to raiſe a year after. | 304. |

The

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|---|---|---|
| 3701. | The Rhodians employ the money raiſed by the ſale of the machine, which Demetrius had uſed in the ſiege of their city, and had given them as a preſent, in erecting the famous Coloſſus, called the Coloſſus of Rhodes. | 303. |
| | Demetrius Poliorcetes is declared general of all the Greeks by the ſtates of Greece aſſembled at the Iſthmus. | |
| 3702. | Ptolemy, Seleucus, Caſſander, and Lyſimachus, enter into a league againſt Antigonus, and Demetrius his ſon. | 302. |
| | Battle of Ipſus, wherein Antigonus is defeated. It is followed by the diviſion of the empire of Alexander amongſt the four allied princes. | |
| | ARCESILAUS, founder of the middle academy. | |

A. M. Ant. J. C.

There is so much connection between the events, which happen in the four empires formed out of Alexander's, that it is impossible to separate them. For which reason I shall dispose them all in one column, according to the plan I have followed in treating them in the body of my history. I shall first give a table, that contains only the kings that reigned in each of those kingdoms.

| | EGYPT. | SYRIA. | MACEDONIA. | THRACE AND BITHYNIA. | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 3704. | PTOLEMY SOTER, | SELEUCUS NICATOR. | CASSANDER. | LYSIMACHUS. | 300. |
| 3707. | | | PHILIP and ALEXANDER, the sons of Cassander, dispute the kingdom, and possess it almost three years. | | 297. |
| 3710. | | | DEMETRIUS POLIORCETES. | | 294. |
| 3717. | | | PYRRHUS and LYSIMACHUS. | | 287. |
| 3719. | PTOLEMY PHILADELPHUS. | | | | 285. |
| 3723. | | | SELEUCUS NICATOR, a very short time. | Lysimachus is killed in a battle. After his death his dominions are dismembered, and | 281. |

| A.M. | EGYPT. | SYRIA. | MACEDONIA | THRACE AND BITHYNIA. | Ant.J.C. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | | and ceaſe to form a diſtinct kingdom. | |
| 3724. | | ANTIOCHUS SOTER. | PTOLEMY CERAUNUS. His brother MELEAGER reigned ſome time after him. | | 280. |
| 3726. | | | SOSTHENES. | | 278. |
| 3728. | | | ANTIGONUS GONATAS. | | 276. |
| 3743. | | ANTIOCHUS THEOS. | | | 261. |
| 3758. | PTOLEMY EVERGETES. | SELEUCUS CALLINICUS. | | | 246. |
| 3762. | | | DEMETRIUS, ſon of Antigonus Gonatas. | | 242. |
| 3772. | | | | | 232. |
| 3778. | | SELEUCUS CERAUNUS. | ANTIGONUS DOSON. | | 226. |
| 3781. | | ANTIOCHUS THE GREAT. | | | 223. |
| 3783. | PTOLEMY PHILOPATOR. | | | | 221. |
| 3784. | | | PHILIP. | | 220. |
| 3800. | PTOLEMY EPIPHANES. | | | | 204. |
| 3817. | | SELEUCUS PHILOPATOR. | | | 187. |

| A. M. | EGYPT. | SYRIA. | MACEDONIA. | Ant. J. C. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 3824. | PTOLEMY PHILOMETER. | | | 180. |
| 3825. | | | PERSEUS, the laſt knig of the Macedonians. | 179. |
| 3829. | | ANTIOCHUS EPIPHANES. | | 175. |
| 3840. | | ANTIOCHUS EUPATOR. | | 164. |
| 3842. | | DEMETRIUS SOTER. | | 162. |
| 3854. | | ALEXANDER BALA. | | 150. |
| 3859. | PTOLEMY PHYSCON. | DEMETRIUS NICATOR. | | 145. |
| 3860. | | ANTIOCHUS THEOS, the ſon of Bala, ſeiſes part of Syria. TRYPHON does the ſame ſoon after. | | 144. |
| 3864. | | ANTIOCHUS SIDETES puts Tryphon to death, and reigns in his room. | | 140. |
| 3877. | | ZEBINA ſucceeds Demetrius Nicator. | | 127. |
| 3880. | | SELEUCUS, the ſon of Nicator. ANTIOCHUS GRYPUS. | | 124. |
| 3887. | PTOLEMY LATHYRUS. | | | 117. |
| 3890. | | ANTIOCHUS, the Cyzicenian, divides the kingdom with Grypus. | | 114. |

| A. M. | EGYPT. | SYRIA. | Ant. J. C. |
|---|---|---|---|
| 3897. | ALEXANDER I. brother of Lathyrus. | | 107. |
| 3907. | | SELEUCUS, ſon of Grypus. | 97. |
| 3911. | | ANTIOCHUS EUSEBES. | 93. |
| 3912. | | ANTIOCHUS, ſecond ſon of Grypus. | 92. |
| 3913. | | PHILIP, third ſon of Grypus. | 91. |
| 3914. | | DEMETRIUS EUCHERES, fourth ſon of Grypus | 90. |
| 3919. | | ANTIOCHUS DIONYSIUS, fifth ſon of Grypus. The four laſt named kings reigned ſucceſſively with Euſebes. | 85. |
| 3921. | | TIGRANES, during fourteen years. | 83. |
| 3923. | ALEXANDER II. ſon of Alexander I. | | 81. |
| 3935. | | ANTIOCHUS ASIATICUS. | 69. |
| 3939. | PTOLEMY AULETES. | | 65. |
| 3946. | Berenice, the eldeſt daughter of Auletes, reigns ſome time in his ſtead, after which that prince is reſtored. | | 58. |
| 3953. | Cleopatra reigns at firſt with her eldeſt brother, then with Ptolemy, her youngeſt brother, and at laſt alone. | | 51. |

| A.M. | SUCCESSORS of ALEXANDER. | Ant.J.C. |
|---|---|---|
| 3704. | SELEUCUS, king of Syria, builds Antioch. | 300. |
| | Athens refuſes to receive Demetrius Poliorcetes. | |
| 3707. | Death of Caſſander, king of Macedon. Philip, his ſon ſucceeds him. He reigns only one year, and is ſucceeded by ALEXANDER his brother. About this time Pyrrhus, king of Epirus, eſpouſes Antigone, of the houſe of Ptolemy, and returns into his dominions, out of which he had been driven by the Moloſſi. | 297. |
| 3709. | DEMETRIUS POLIORCETES retakes Athens. Lyſimachus and Ptolemy, almoſt at the ſame time, deprive him of all he poſſeſſed. | 295. |
| 3710. | Demetrius puts to death Alexander king of Macedonia, who had called him in to his aid, and ſeiſes his dominions, where he reigns ſeven years. | 294. |
| 3711. | Foundation of the city of Seleucia by Seleucus. | 293. |
| 3717. | Pyrrhus and Lyſimachus take Macedonia from Demetrius. The latter dies miſerably the year following in priſon. | 287. |
| 3719. | PTOLEMY SOTER, king of Egypt reſigns the throne to his ſon PTOLEMY PHILADELPHUS. | 285. |
| | Foundation of the kingdom of Pergamus by PHILETERRUS. | |
| 3721. | Demetrius Phalereus is ſhut up in a fort by order of Philadelphus, and kills himſelf there. | 283. |
| 3722. | Seleucus Nicator, king of Syria, declares war againſt Lyſimachus, king of Macedonia. | 282. |
| 3723. | Lyſimachus is killed in a battle in Phrygia. Seleucus enters Macedonia to take poſſeſſion of the kingdom. He is aſſaſſinated there by Ceraunus. ANTIOCHUS SOTER, his ſon, ſucceeds him in the kingdom of Syria. | 281. |
| 3724. | CERAUNUS, to ſecure the kingdom of Macedonia to himſelf, puts the two children of Lyſimachus by Arſinoe to death, and baniſhes her into Samothracia. | 280. |
| | The republick of the Achæans reſumes its ancient form, which it had loſt under Philip and Alexander. | |
| | Pyrrhus, king of Epirus, called in by the Tarentines, goes to Italy to make war againſt the Romans. He gives them battle for the firſt time near Heraclea, where the advantage is entirely on his ſide. He is again ſucceſsful in a ſecond battle fought the year following. | |
| 3725. | Irruption of the Gauls into Macedonia. Ceraunus gives them battle, in which he is killed. MELEAGER his brother ſucceeds him. | 279. |
| 3726. | Pyrrhus abandons Italy, and goes to Sicily, which he conquers. | 278. |
| | SOSTHENES drives the Gauls out of Macedonia. He is made king there, and reigns two years. | |
| | Attempt of the Gauls upon the temple of Delphos. | |

Ptolemy

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3727. Ptolemy Philadelphus, king of Egypt, cauſes the holy ſcriptures to be tranſlated into Greek. 277.

3728. Death of Softhenes. ANTIGONUS GONATAS, ſon of Poliorcetes, who reigned afterwards during ten years in Greece, makes himſelf king of Macedonia in his room. Antiochus, king of Syria, diſputes the poſſeſſion of it with him. Their difference terminates by the marriage of Antigonus with Phila, the daughter of Stratonice and Seleucus. 276.

3729. Antiochus defeats the Gauls in a bloody battle, and delivers the country from their oppreſſions. By this victory he acquires the name of *Soter*. 275.

3730. Pyrrhus returns into Italy, and is defeated by the Romans. He goes to Macedonia, where he attacks and defeats Antigonus. 274.

Ptolemy Philadelphus, in effect of the reputation of the Romans, ſends an embaſſy to them to demand their amity.

3732. Pyrrhus undertakes the ſiege of Sparta, and cannot reduce it. He is killed the next year at the ſiege of Argos. 272.

3736. Antigonus Gonatas makes himſelf maſter of Athens, which had entered into a league with the Lacedæmonians againſt him. 268.

3739. ALANTIDAS makes himſelf tyrant of Sicyon, after having put CLINIAS, its governor, to death. 265.

MAGAS, governor of Cyrenaica and Libya, revolts againſt Ptolemy Philadelphus.

3741. Death of Phileterrus, king, and founder of Pergamus. EUMENES, his Nephew, ſucceeds him. 263.

3743. Antiochus Soter, king of Syria, cauſes his ſon ANTIOCHUS to be proclaimed king. He dies ſoon after. 261.

BEROSUS of Babylon, the hiſtorian, lived about this time.

3746 Accommodation between Magas and Ptolemy Philadelphus. 258.

3749. War between Antiochus, king of Syria, and Ptolemy Philadelphus. 255.

3752. ARATUS, the ſon of Clinias, delivers Sicyon from tyranny, and unites it with the Achæan league. 252.

3754. ARSACES revolts againſt Agathocles, governor for Antiochus in the country of the Parthians. About the ſame time THEODORUS, governor of Bactriana, revolts, and cauſes himſelf to be declared king of that province. 250.

3755. Treaty of peace between Antiochus and Ptolemy Philadelphus, which puts an end to the war. By one of the conditions of that treaty, Antiochus repudiates Laodice, and marries Berenice, Ptolemy's daughter. 249.

AGIS,

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3756. Agis, king of Sparta, endeavours to revive the ancient inſtitutions of Lycurgus. Leonidas, his colleague, is depoſed for refuſing to conſent to it. Cleombrotus, his ſon-in-law, reigns in his ſtead. 248.

3757. Death of Ptolemy Philadelphus, king of Egypt. Ptolemy Evergetes, his ſon, ſucceeds him. 247.

Apollonius of Rhodes, author of a poem upon the expedition of the Argonauts.

3758. Antiochus, ſurnamed Theos, king of Syria, is poiſoned by his wife Laodice. She afterwards cauſes her ſon SeleucusCallinicus to be declared king. 246.

Berenice, and her ſon by Antiochus, are aſſaſſinated by Laodice.

Ptolemy Evergetes, Berenice's brother, undertakes to revenge her death. He makes himſelf maſter of great part of Syria.

3760. The cities of Smyrna and Magneſia enter into an alliance to aid the king of Syria againſt Ptolemy Evergetes. 244.

Aratus makes himſelf maſter of the citadel of Corinth.

Leonidas is reſtored at Sparta, Cleombrotus ſent into baniſhment, and Agis put to death.

3762. Death of Antigonus Gonatas, king of Macedonia. Demetrius his ſon ſucceeds him. 242.

Seleucus, king of Syria, enters into a war with Antiochus Hierax, his brother. The latter has the advantage in a battle near Ancyra in Galatia.

3763. Death of Eumenes, king of Pergamus. Attalus, his couſin-german, ſuceeeds him. 241.

3765. Eratosthenes the Cyrenian is made librarian to Ptolemy Evergetes. 239.

3771. Joseph, nephew of the high-prieſt Onias, is ſent ambaſſador to Ptolemy Evergetes. 233.

3772. Death of Demetrius, king of Macedonia. Antigonus, guardian of Philip, ſon of Demetrius, ſucceeds him. 232.

Polycletus of Sicyon, a famous ſculptor.

3774. Seleucus, king of Syria, is defeated and taken priſoner by Arſaces, king of the Parthians. 230.

3776. Cleomenes, king of Sparta, gains a great victory over the Achæans and Aratus. 228.

3778. Seleucus Callinicus, king of Syria, dies amongſt the Parthians of a fall from an horſe. Seleucus Ceraunus, his eldeſt ſon, ſucceeds him. 226.

Antiochus Hierax is aſſaſſinated by thieves on leaving Egypt.

Aratus defeats Ariſtippus, tyrant of Argos. He prevails upon Lyſiades, tyrant of Megalopolis, torenounce the

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the tyranny, and make his city enter into the Achæan league.

3779. The Romans ſend a famous embaſſy into Greece, to impart to the Greeks the treaty they had lately concluded with the Illyrians. The Corinthians declare by a publick decree, that they ſhall be admitted to ſhare in the celebration of the Iſthmian games. The Athenians alſo grant them the freedom of Athens. 225.

Antigonus, king of Macedonia, by the management of Aratus, is called in to aid the Achæans againſt the Lacedæmonians.

3781. Cleomenes, king of Sparta, takes Megalopolis. 223.

Battle of Selaſia, followed with the taking of Sparta by Antigonus.

Death of Seleucus Ceraunus, king of Syria. ANTIOCHUS his brother, ſurnamed THE GREAT, ſucceeds him.

3782. The Coloſſus of Rhodes is thrown down by a great earthquake. 222.

3783. Death of Ptolemy Evergetes, king of Egypt. PTOLEMY PHILOPATOR ſucceeds him. 221.

The Ætolians gain a great victory at Caphyæ over the Achæans.

3784. Antiochus reduces Molon and Alexander, who had revolted againſt him two years before, the firſt in Media, the ſecond in Perſia. 220.

Death of Antigonus, king of Macedonia. PHILIP, the ſon of Demetrius, ſucceeds him.

Cleomenes, king of Sparta, dies in Egypt. The Lacedæmonians elect Ageſipolis and Lycurgus to ſucceed him.

War of the allies with the Ætolians, in favour of the Achæans.

3785. HERMIAS, prime miniſter of Antiochus, is put to death by that prince's orders. 219.

3787. Battle of Raphia, between Ptolemy king of Egypt, and Antiochus king of Syria. 217.

Treaty of peace between Philip king of Macedonia and the Achæans on one ſide, and the Ætolians on the other, which puts an end to the war of the allies.

3788. Antiochus beſieges Acæus, who had revolted in Sardis, and after a ſiege of two years he is delivered up ythe treachery of a Cretan. 216.

Hannibal's alliance with Philip king of Macedonia.

3789. Philip receives a conſiderable blow from the Romans at the ſiege of Apollonia. 215.

3790. CARNEADES, founder of the new academy. 214.

3792. Antiochus undertakes to reduce the provinces which had thrown off the yoke of the Syrian empire, and effects it in the ſpace of ſeven years. 212.

Alliance

| A. M. | SUCCESORS OF ALEXANDER. | Ant. J. C. |
|---|---|---|
| 3793. | Alliance of the Ætolians with the Romans. Attalus, king of Pergamus, enters into it. The Lacedæmonians come into it ſome ſhort time after. | 211. |
| 3796. | Famous battle between Philip king of Macedonia and the Ætolians near Elis. PHILOPOEMEN diſtinguiſhes himſelf in it. | 208. |
| 3798. | Battle of Mantinæa, wherein Philopœmen defeats MACHANIDAS, tyrant of Sparta, who periſhes in it. NABIS is ſet in his place. | 206. |
| 3800. | Treaty of peace between Philip and the Romans. All the allies on both ſides are included in it. POLYBIUS is ſaid to have been born this year. Death of Ptolemy Philopator, king of Egypt. PTOLEMY EPIPHANES, at that time only five years old, ſucceeds him. | 204. |
| 3801. | League between Philip of Macedon, and Antiochus king of Syria, againſt the young king of Egypt. | 203. |
| 3802. | Philip, king of Macedonia, is defeated by the Rhodians in a ſea-fight off the iſland of Chio. That prince's cruel treatment of the Cyaneans ſeems to be properly dated the following year. | 202. |
| 3803. | Philip beſieges and takes Abydos. | 201. |
| 3804. | The Romans declare war with Philip. P. Sulpitius is appointed to command in it. He gains a conſiderable victory near the town of Octolopha in Macedonia. | 200. |
| 3805. | Villicus ſucceeds Sulpitius in the command of the army againſt Philip. The year following Flaminius is ſent to ſucceed Villicus. | 199. |
| 3806. | Antiochus, king of Syria, ſubjects Paleſtine and Cœloſyria. The Achæans declare for the Romans againſt Philip. | 198. |
| 3807. | Interview of Philip and the conſul Flaminius. Nabis, tyrant of Sparta, declares for the Romans. The Bœotians do the ſame. Death of Attalus, king of Pergamus. EUMENES ſucceeds him. Battle of Cynoſcephale, where the Romans gain a complete victory over Philip. | 197. |
| 3808. | Treaty of peace between Philip and the Romans, which puts an end to the war. Embaſſy of the Romans to Antiochus the Great, in order to be aſſured whether the complaints againſt him were juſtly founded. Conſpiracy of Scopas, the Ætolian, againſt Ptolemy Epiphanes, diſcovered and puniſhed. | 196. |
| 3809. | Flaminius makes war againſt Nabis, the tyrant of Sparta. | 195. |
| 3813. | Philopœmen gains a conſiderable advantage over Nabis, near Sparta. | 191. |

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The Ætolians reſolve to ſeiſe Demetrias, Chalcis, and Sparta, by treachery and ſtratagem.

Nabis is killed. Philopœmen makes the Lacedæmonians enter into the Achæan league.

Antiochus goes to Greece to the aid of the Ætolians. The Romans declare war againſt him, and ſoon after defeat him near the ſtraits of Thermopylæ.

3814. Battle of Magneſia, followed by a treaty of peace, which puts an end to the war between the Romans and Antiochus, which had ſubſiſted about two years. 190.

The philoſopher PANÆTIUS was born about this time.

3815. The conſul Fulvius forces the Ætolians to ſubmit to the Romans. Manlius, his colleague, almoſt at the ſame time, ſubjects all the Gauls in Aſia 189.

The cruel treatment of the Spartans by their exiles, ſupported by Philopœmen, happened this year.

3817. Antiochus the Great, king of Syria, is killed in the temple of Jupiter Belus, which he had entered in order to plunder it. SELEUCUS PHILOPATOR ſucceeds him. 187.

3821. Philopœmen is taken before Meſſene, by Dinocrates, and put to death. 183.

3823. Demetrius, ſon of Philip, king of Macedonia, is unjuſtly accuſed by his brother Perſeus, and put to death. 181.

3824. Death of Ptolemy Epiphanes, king of Egypt. PTOLEMY PHILOMETER ſucceeds him. 180.

3825. Death of Philip, king of Macedonia. PERSEUS his ſon ſucceeds him. 179.

3829. Seleucus Philopator, king of Syria, is poiſoned by Heliodorus, whom he had ſent a little before to take Jeruſalem. He is ſucceeded by ANTIOCHUS EPIPHANES. 175.

3830. Antiochus Epiphanes cauſes Onias the high-prieſt of Jeruſalem to be depoſed, and ſets Jaſon in his place. 174.

3833. War between Antiochus and Ptolemy Philometer. 171.

The Romans declare war againſt Perſeus. That prince has ſome advantage in the firſt battle near the river Peneus.

3834. Antiochus Epiphanes makes himſelf maſter of all Egypt. He marches afterwards to Jeruſalem, where he commits unheard of cruelties. 170.

3835. The Alexandrians, in the room of Philometer, who had fallen into the hands of Antiochus, make PTOLEMY EVERGETES, his younger brother, king. 169.

Philometer is ſet at liberty the ſame year, and unites with his brother. That union induces Antiochus to renew the war.

3836. Paulus Æmilius is charged with the Macedonian war againſt Perſeus. He gains a famous victory over that prince 168.

prince near Pydna, which puts an end to the kingdom of Macedonia. It was not reduced, however, into a province of the Roman empire till twenty years after.

The prætor Anicius ſubjects Illyria in thirty days.

Popilius, one of the ambaſſadors ſent by the Romans into Egypt, obliges Antiochus to quit it, and come to an accommodation with the two brothers.

Antiochus, exaſperated at what had happened in Egypt, turns his rage againſt the Jews, and ſends Apollonius to Jeruſalem.

The ſame year he publiſhes a decree to oblige all nations in ſubjection to him to renounce their own religion, and conform to his. This law occaſions a cruel perſecution amongſt the Jews.

3837. Antiochus goes in perſon to Jeruſalem, to ſee his orders put in execution. The martyrdom of the Maccabees, and the death of Eleazar, happened at that time. 167.

Paulus Æmilius abandons the cities of Epirus to be plundered by his army, for having taken Perſeus's part. The Achæans, ſuſpected of having favoured that prince, are ſent to Rome, to give an account of their conduct. The ſenate baniſh them into different towns of Italy, from whence they are not ſuffered to return home till ſeventeen years after. Polybius was of this number.

3838. PRUSIAS, king of Bithynia, goes to Rome. Eumenes, king of Pergamus, is not permitted to enter it. 166.

Death of Mattathias. JUDAS, his ſon, ſucceeds him, and gains many victories over the generals of Antiochus,

3840. Antiochus Epiphanes is repulſed before Elymais, where he intended to plunder the temple. He marches towards Judæa, with deſign to exterminate the Jews. The hand of God ſtrikes him on the way, and he dies with the moſt exquiſite torments. ANTIOCHUS EUPATOR, his ſon, ſucceeds him. 164.

3841. Antiochus Eupator marches againſt Jeruſalem. He is ſoon after obliged to return into Syria, in order to expel Philip of Antioch, who had made himſelf maſter of his capital. 163.

3842. Difference between Philometer, king of Egypt, and Phyſcon his brother, which does not terminate till after the expiration of five years. 162.

Octavius, ambaſſador for the Romans in Syria, is aſſaſſinated.

DEMETRIUS SOTER, the ſon of Seleucus Philopator, flies from Rome, where he had been kept as an hoſtage, to Syria, where he cauſes Antiochus Eupator to be put to death, and ſeiſes the throne.

3843. Death of Judas Maccabæus. 161.

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|---|---|---|
| 3844. | Demetrius is acknowledged king of Syria by the Romans. | 160. |
| 3845. | Death of Eumenes, king of Pergamus. ATTALUS PHILOMETER ſucceeds him. | 159. |
| 3848. | War between Attalus and Pruſias. | 156. |
| 3851. | ALEXANDER BALA pretends himſelf the ſon of Antiochus Epiphanes, and in that quality attempts to cauſe himſelf to be acknowledged king of Syria. | 153. |
| 3852. | ANDRISCUS of Adramyttium pretends himſelf the ſon of Perſeus, and undertakes to cauſe himſelf to be declared king of Macedonia. He is conquered, taken, and ſent to Rome by Metellus. | 152. |
| 3854. | Demetrius Soter is killed in a battle between him and Alexander Bala. His death leaves the latter in poſſeſſion of the empire of Syria. | 150. |
| 3856. | Macedonia is reduced into a province of the Roman empire. | 148. |
| 3857. | Troubles in Achaia promoted by Diæus and Critolaus. The commiſſioners ſent thither by the Romans are inſulted. | 147. |
| 3858. | Metellus goes to Achaia, where he gains ſeveral advantages over the Achæans. Mummius ſucceeds him, and, after a great battle near Leucopetra, takes Corinth, and entirely demoliſhes it. | 146. |
| | Greece is reduced into a Roman province under the name of the province of Achaia. | |

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The ſequel of the hiſtory of the kings of Syria is much embroiled, for which reaſon I ſhall ſeparate it from that of the Egyptians, in order to complete its chronology.

## SYRIA.

3859. DEMETRIUS NICATOR, ſon of Demetrius Soter, defeats Alexander Bala, and aſcends the throne. 145.

3860. ANTIOCHUS, ſurnamed THEOS, ſon of Bala, ſupported by Tryphon, makes himſelf maſter of part of the kingdom. 144.

Tryphon gets Jonathan into his hands, and puts him to death at Ptolemais. The year following he murthers his pupil Antiochus, and ſeiſes the kingdom of Syria.

3863. Demetrius marches againſt the Parthians. After ſome ſmall advantages he is taken priſoner. 141.

3864. ANTIOCHUS SIDETES, the ſecond ſon of Demetrius Soter, marries Cleopatra, the wife of his brother Demetrius Nicator; and after having put Tryphon to death, he is declared king himſelf. 140.

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## EGYPT.

3859. Death of Ptolemy Philometer. PTOLEMY PHYSCON, 145.
His brother ſucceeds him.

3866. { Death of Attalus, king of Pergamus. ATTALUS, his nephew, ſurnamed PHILOMETER, ſucceeds him. He reigns five years. } 138.

3869. Antiochus Sidetes beſieges Johannes Hyrcanus in Jeruſalem, and takes the city by capitulation. 135.

3873. Antiochus marches againſt the Parthians, and gains many advantages over them. They ſend back Demetrius the year following. 131.

3874. Demetrius Nicator reigns again in Syria. 130.

3877. Demetrius is killed by ALEXANDER ZEBINA, who takes his place, and cauſes himſelf to be acknowledged king of Syria. 127.

3880. SELEUCUS V. eldeſt ſon of Demetrius Nicator, is declared king, and ſoon after killed by Cleopatra. ANTIOCHUS GRYPUS ſucceeds him. 124.

3882. Zebina is defeated by Grypus, and dies ſoon after. 122.

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3868. The cruelties of Phyſcon at Alexandria, oblige moſt of the inhabitants to quit the place. 136.

3871. Attalus Philometer, king of Pergamus, at his death leaves his dominions to the Roman people. Andronicus ſeiſes them. 133.

3874. The conſul Perpenna defeats Andronicus, and ſends him to Rome. The kingdom of Pergamus is reduced the year following into a Roman province by Manius Aquilius. 130.

Phyſcon repudiates Cleopatra, his firſt wife, and marries his daughter of the ſame name. He is ſoon after obliged to fly, and the Alexandrians give the government to Cleopatra, whom he had repudiated.

3877. Phyſcon re-aſcends the throne of Egypt. 127.

3882. Phyſcon gives his daughter in marriage to Grypus, kin of Syria. 122.

| A. M. | SYRIA. | Ant. J. C. |
|---|---|---|
| 3884. | Cleopatra attempts to poiſon Grypus, and is poiſoned herſelf. | 120. |
| 3890 | ANTIOCHUS, the Cyzicenian, ſon of Cleopatra and Antiochus Sidetus, takes arms againſt Grypus. He has the worſt in the beginning; but in two years obliges his brother to divide the kingdom of Syria with him. | 114. |
| 3907. | Death of Grypus. SELEUCUS his ſon ſucceeds him. | 97. |
| 3910. | Antiochus the Cyzicenian is defeated, and put to death | 94. |
| 3911. | Seleucus is defeated by Euſebes, and burnt in Mopſueſtia. | 93. |
| | ANTIOCHUS EUSEBES, the ſon of the Cyzicenian, cauſes himſelf to be declared king. He marries Selena, the widow of Grypus. | |

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| 3887. | Death of Phyſcon. PTOLEMY LATHYRUS ſucceeds him. Cleopatra, his mother, obliges him to repudiate Cleopatra, his eldeſt ſiſter, and to marry Selena, his youngeſt. | 117. |
| 3891. | Cleopatra, queen of Egypt, gives the kingdom of Cyprus to Alexander, her youngeſt ſon. | 113. |
| 3897. | Cleopatra drives Lathyrus out of Egypt, and places his brother Alexander upon the throne. | 107. |
| 3900. | Signal victory of Lathyrus over Alexander, king of the Jews, upon the banks of the Jordan. | 104. |
| 3901. | Cleopatra forces Lathyrus to raiſe the ſiege of Ptolemais, and takes that city herſelf. | 103. |
| 3903. | Cleopatra takes her daughter Selena from Lathyrus, and makes her marry Antiochus the Cyzicenian. | 101. |

| A.M. | SYRIA. | | Ant. J. C. |
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| 3912. | ANTIOCHUS, brother of Seleucus, and ſecond ſon of Grypus, aſſumes the diadem. He is preſently after defeated by Euſebes, and drowned in the Orontes. | | 92. |
| 3913. | PHILIP, his brother, third ſon of Grypus ſucceeds him. | | 91. |
| 3914. | DEMETRIUS EUCHERES, fourth ſon of Grypus, is eſtabliſhed king at Damaſcus by the aid of Lathyrus. | | 90. |
| 3916. | | Euſebes, defeated by Philip and Demetrius, retires to the Parthians, who re-eſtabliſh him upon the throne two years after. | 88. |
| 3919. | Demetrius having been taken by the Parthians, ANTIOCHUS DIONYSIUS, the fifth ſon of Grypus, is ſet upon the throne, and killed the following year. | | 85. |
| 3921. | The Syrians, weary of ſo many changes, chooſe TIGRANES, king of Armenia, for their king. He reigns fourteen years by a viceroy. | Euſebes takes refuge in Cilicia, where he remains concealed. | 83. |

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| 3915. | Alexander kills his mother Cleopatra. | 89. |
| 3916. | Alexander is expelled, and dies ſoon after. Lathyrus is recalled. | 88. |
| 3922. | Lathyrus ruins Thebes in Egypt, where the rebels, he had before defeated, had taken refuge. | 82. |
| 3923. | Death of Lathyrus. ALEXANDER II. ſon of Alexander I. under the protection of Sylla, is elected king. | 81. |

3935. Tigranes recalls Magdalus his viceroy in Syria. 69.

ANTIOCHUS ASIATICUS takes poſſeſſion of ſome parts of Syria, and reigns four years,

3939. Pompey deprives Antiochus Aſiaticus of his dominions, and reduces Syria into a Roman province 65.

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3928. Death of Nicomedes, king of Bithynia. His kingdom is reduced into a Roman province; as is Cyrenaica the ſame year. 76.

3939. Alexander is driven out of Egypt. PTOLEMY AULETES, Lathyrus's natural ſon, is ſet in his place. 65.

3946. The Romans depoſe Ptolemy, king of Cyprus, and ſeiſe that Iſland. Cato is charged with that commiſſion. 58.

Ptolemy Auletes is obliged to fly from Egypt. Berenice, the eldeſt of his daughters, is declared queen in his ſtead.

3949. Gabinius and Anthony reſtore Auletes to the entire poſſeſſion of his dominions. 55.

3953. Death of Ptolemy Auletes. He leaves his dominions to his eldeſt ſon and daughter, the famous Cleopatra. 51.

3956. Pothinus and Achillas, the young king's guardians, deprive Cleopatra of her ſhare in the government, and drive her out of Egypt. 48.

3957. Death of the king of Egypt. Cæſar places CLEOPATRA upon the throne with PTOLEMY her youngeſt brother. 47.

3961. Cleopatra poiſons her brother when he comes of age to ſhare the ſovereign authority according to the laws. She afterwards declares for the Roman triumviri. 43.

3963. Cleopatra goes to Anthony at Tarſus in Cilicia. She gains the aſcendant of him, and carries him with her to Alexandria. 41.

3971. Anthony makes himſelf maſter of Armenia, and brings the king priſoner to Cleopatra. Coronation of Cleopatra and all her children. 33.

Rupture between Cæſar and Anthony. Cleopatra accompanies the latter, who repudiates Octavia at Athens.

3973. Cleopatra flies at the battle of Actium. Anthony follows her, and thereby abandons the victory to Cæſar. 31.

3974 Anthony dies in the arms of Cleopatra. 30.

Cæſar makes himſelf maſter of Alexandria. Cleopatra kills herſelf. Egypt is reduced into a Roman province.

| A. M. | CAPPADOCIA. | PARTHIAN EMPIRE. | Ant. J. C. |
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| 3644. | ARIARATHES I. was the first king of Cappadocia. He reigned jointly with his brother Holophernes. | | 360. |
| 3668. | ARIARATHES II. son of the first. He was deprived of his dominions by Perdiccas, who sets Eumenes on the throne. | | 336. |
| 3689. | ARIARATHES III. ascends the throne of Cappadocia after the death of Perdiccas and Eumenes. | | 315. |
| 3720. | ARIAMNES. | | 284. |
| | ARIARATHES IV. | | |
| 3754. | | ARSACES I. founder of the Parthian empire. | 250. |
| | | ARSACES II. brother of the first. | |
| | | PRIAPATIUS. | |
| | | PHRAATES I. | |
| 3814. | ARIARATHES V. | | 190. |

| A. M. | PONTUS. | Ant. J. C. |
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| 3490. | The kingdom of Pontus was founded by Darius the ſon of Hyſtaſpes, in the year 3490. Artabazus was the firſt king of it. His ſucceſſors down to Mithridates are little known. | 514. |
| 3600. | MITHRIDATES I. He is commonly conſidered as the founder of the kingdom of Pontus. | 404. |
| 3638. | ARIOBARZANES. He reigns twenty-ſix years. | 366. |
| 3667. | MITHRIDATES II. He reigns thirty-five years. | 337. |
| 3702. | MITHRIDATES III. reigns thirty-ſix years. The reigns of the three kings who ſucceed him, include the ſpace of an hundred years. The laſt of them was MITHRIDATES IV. great-grandfather of Mithridates the Great. | 302. |
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| 3840. | | MITHRIDATES I. | 164. |
| 3842. | ARIARATHES VI. surnamed Philopator. | | 162. |
| 3873. | | PHRAATES II. | 131. |
| 3875. | ARIARATHES VII. | ARTABAZUS. After a very short reign he is succeeded by MITHRIDATES II. who reigns forty years. | 129. |
| 3913. | ARIARATHES VIII. Mithridates, king of Pontus, puts him to death, and sets his son upon the throne. Soon after ARIARATHES IX. takes Cappadocia from the son of Mithridates, who is presently after re-established by his father. | | 91. |
| 3914. | SYLLA enters Cappadocia, drives the son of Mithridates out of it, and sets Ariobarzanes I. upon the throne. | | 90. |
| 3915. | TIGRANES, king of Armenia, drives Ariobarzanes out of Cappadocia, and reinstates the son of Mithridates. | | 89. |
| | | MNASCHIRES, and after him SINATROCES. These two princes reign about twenty years. | |

MITHRIDATES V. ſurnamed Evergetes,

3881. MITHRIDATES VI. ſurnamed the Great. 123.

3913. Mithridates ſeiſes Cappadocia, and makes his ſon king of it. 91.

3915. Beginning of the war between Mithridates and the Romans. 89.

3916. Mithridates cauſes all the Romans in Aſia Minor to be maſſacred in one day. 88.

ARCHELAUS, one of the generals of Mithridates, ſeiſes Athens, and moſt of the cities of Greece.

| A. M. | CAPPADOCIA. | PARTHIAN EMPIRE. | Ant. J. C. |
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| 3926. | Sylla obliges Mithridates to reſtore Cappadocia to Ariobarzanes. Tigranes diſpoſſeſſes him of it a ſecond time. After the war with Mithridates, Pompey re-inſtates Ariobarzanes. His reign, and the very ſhort one of his ſon, continue down to about the year 3953. | | 78. |
| 3935. | | PHRAATES III. who aſſumes the ſurname of *the Good*. | 69. |

| A. M. | PONTUS. | Ant. J. C. |
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| 3917. | Sylla is charged with the war againſt Mithridates. He retakes Athens after a long ſiege. | 87. |
| 3918. | Victory of Sylla over the generals of Mithridates near Chæronea. He gains a ſecond battle ſoon after at Orchomenes. | 86. |
| 3920. | Treaty of peace between Mithridates and Sylla, which terminates the war. | 84. |
| 3921. | Mithridates puts his ſon to death. Second war between Mithridates and the Romans: It ſubſiſts ſomething leſs than three years. | 83. |
| 3928. | Mithridates makes an alliance with Sertorius. | 76. |
| 3929. | Beginning of the third war of Mithridates againſt the Romans. LUCULLUS and Cotta are placed at the head of the Roman army. | 75. |
| 3930. | Cotta is defeated by ſea and land, and forced to ſhut himſelf up in Chalcedon. Lucullus goes to his aid. | 74. |
| 3931. | Mithridates forms the ſiege of Cyzicum. Lucullus obliges him to raiſe it at the end of two years, and purſues and beats him near the Granicus. | 73. |
| 3933. | Mithridates defeated in the plains of Cebiræ. He retires to Tigranes. | 71. |
| 3934. | Lucullus declares war againſt Tigranes, and ſoon after defeats him, and takes Tigranocerta, the capital of Armenia. | 70. |
| 3936. | Lucullus defeats Tigranes and Mithridates, who had joined their forces near the river Arſamia. | 68. |
| 3937. | Mithridates recovers all his dominions, in effect of the miſunderſtandings that take place in the Roman army. | 67. |

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| 3948. | | MITHRIDATES, eldeſt ſon of Phraates. | 56. |
| 3950. | | ORODES<br>Unfortunate expedition of Craſſus againſt the Parthians. | 54. |
| 3953. | ARIOBARZANES III. He is put to death by Caſſius. | | 51. |
| 3962. | ARIARATHES X. | | 42. |
| | | VENTIDIUS, general of the Romans, gains a victory over the Parthians, which retrieves the honour they had loſt at the battle of Carræ. | |
| 3973. | M. ANTHONY drives Ariarathes out of Cappadocia, and ſets Achelaus in his place. On the death of that prince, which happened in the year of the world 4022, Cappadocia was reduced into a Roman province. | | 31. |

A.M. PONTUS. Ant. J. C.

3938. Pompey is appointed to ſucceed Lucullus. He gains many advantages over Mithridates, and obliges him to fly. 66.

Tigranes ſurrenders himſelf to Pompey.

3939. Pompey makes himſelf maſter of Caina, in which the treaſures of Mithridates were laid up. 65.

Death of Mithridates. PHARNACES his ſon, whom the army had elected king, ſubmits his perſon and dominions to the Romans.

A. M. SYRACUSE. Ant. J. C.

Syracuſe is ſaid to have been founded in the year of the world 3295, before Chriſt 709.

3520. GELON's beginning. 484.

3525. GELON is elected king of Syracuſe. He reigns five or ſix years. 479.

3532. HIERO I. He reigns eleven years. 472.

3543. THRASYBULUS. In a year's time he is expelled by his ſubjects. 461.

3544. The Syracuſans enjoy their liberty during ſixty years. 460.

3589. The Athenians, aſſiſted by the people of Segeſta, undertake the ſiege of Syracuſe under their general Nicias. They are obliged to raiſe it at the the end of two years. The Syracuſans purſue and defeat them entirely. 415.

3593. Beginning of DIONYSIUS THE ELDER. 411.

3598. DIONYSIUS, after having depoſed the ancient magiſtrates of Syracuſe, is placed at the head of the new ones, and ſoon after cauſes himſelf to be declared generaliſſimo. 406.

3600. Revolt of the Syracuſans againſt Dionyſius upon account of the taking of Gela by the Carthaginians. It is followed by a treaty of peace between the Carthaginians and Syracuſans, by one of the conditions of which, Syracuſe is to continue in ſubjection to Dionyſius. He eſtabliſhes the tyranny in his own perſon. 404.

New troubles at Syracuſe againſt Dionyſius. He finds means to put an end to them.

A.M. CARTHAGE. Ant. J. C.

Carthage was founded in the year of the world 3158, before Chriſt 846.

3501. Firſt treaty between the Carthaginians and Romans. It appears that the Carthaginians had carried their arms into Sicily before this treaty, as they were in poſſeſſion of part of it, when it was concluded. But what year they did ſo is not known. 503.

3520. The Carthaginians make an alliance with Xerxes. 484.

3523. The Carthaginians, under AMILCAR, attack the Greeks ſettled in Sicily. They are beaten by Gelon. 481.

3592. The Carthaginians ſend troops under Hannibal to aid the people of Segeſta againſt the Syracuſans. 412.

3595. HANNIBAL and IMILCON are ſent to conquer Sicily. They open the campaign with the ſiege of Agrigentum. 409.

3600. The war made by the Carthaginians in Sicily is terminated by a treaty of peace with the Syracuſans. 404.

| A. M. | SYRACUSE. | Ant. J. C. |
|---|---|---|
| [3605. | Dionyſius makes great preparations for a new war with the Carthaginians. | 399. |
| [3607. | Maſſacre of all the Carthaginians in Sicily, followed by a declaration of war, which Dionyſius cauſed to be ſignified to them by an herald, whom he diſpatched to Carthage. | 397. |
| 3615. | Dionyſius takes Rhegium by capitulation. The next year he breaks the treaty, and makes himſelf maſter of it again by force. | 389. |
| 3632. | Death of Dionyſius the Elder. His ſon DIONYSIUS THE YOUNGER ſucceeds him. By the advice of DION, his brother-in-law, he cauſes Plato to come to his court. | 372. |
| | Dion, baniſhed by the order of Dionyſius, retires into Peloponneſus. | |
| 3643. | Dionyſius makes Arete his ſiſter, the wife of Dion, marry Timocrates, one of his friends. That treatment makes Dion reſolve to attack the tyrant with open force. | 361. |
| 3644. | DION obliges Dionyſius to abandon Syracuſe. He ſets ſail for Italy. | 360. |
| 3646. | CALLIPPUS cauſes Dion to be aſſaſſinated, and makes himſelf maſter of Syracuſe, where he reigns about thirteen months. | 358. |
| 3646. | HIPPARINUS, brother of Dionyſius the Younger, drives Callippus out of Syracuſe, and eſtabliſhes himſelf in his place for two years. | 357. |
| 3654. | Dionyſius re-inſtated. | 350. |
| 3656. | The Syracuſans call in TIMOLEON to their aid. | 348. |
| 3657. | Dionyſius is forced by Timoleon to ſurrender himſelf, and to retire to Corinth. | 347. |
| 3658. | TIMOLEON aboliſhes tyranny at Syracuſe, and throughout Sicily, the liberty of which he re-inſtates. | 346. |
| 3685. | AGATHOCLES makes himſelf tyrant of Syracuſe. | 319. |

A.M. CARTHAGE. Ant. J.C.

3607. Imilcon goes to Sicily with an army to carry on the war againſt Dionyſius. It ſubſiſts four or five years. 397.

3654. Second treaty of peace concluded between the Romans and Carthaginians. 350.

3656. The Carthaginians make a new attempt to ſeiſe Sicily. They are defeated by TIMOLEON, ſent by the Corinthians to the aid of the Syracuſans. 348.

HANNO, citizen of Carthage, forms the deſign of making himſelf maſter of his country.

3672. Embaſſy of Tyre to Carthage, to demand aid againſt Alexander the Great. 332.

3685. Beginning of the wars between the Carthaginians and Agathocles in Sicily and Africa. 319.

| A. M. | SYRACUSE. | Ant. J. C. |
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| 3724. | A Roman legion ſeiſes Rhegium by treachery. | 280. |
| 3729. | HIERO and ARTEMIDORUS are made ſupreme magiſtrates by the Syracuſan troops. | 275. |
| 3736. | Hiero is declared king by the Syracuſans. | 268. |
| 3741. | Appius Claudius goes to Sicily to aid the Mamertines againſt the Carthaginians. Hiero, who was at firſt againſt him, comes to an accommodation with him, and makes an alliance with the Romans. | 263. |
| 3763. | Hiero ſends the Carthaginians aid againſt the foreign mercenaries. | 241. |
| 3786. | Hiero goes to meet the conſul Tib. Sempronius, in order to offer him his ſervices againſt the Carthaginians. | 218. |

3727. The Carthaginians ſend the Romans aid under Mago againſt Pyrrhus. 277.

3741. Beginning of the firſt Punick war with the Romans. It ſubſiſts twenty-four years. 263.

3743. The Romans beſiege the Carthaginians in Agrigentum, and take the city after a ſiege of ſeven months. 261.

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3755. Regulus is ſent to Rome to propoſe the exchange of priſoners. At his return the Carthaginians put him to death with the moſt cruel torments. 249.

3756. Siege of Lilybæum by the Romans. 248.

3763. Defeat of the Carthaginians near the iſlands Ægates, followed by a treaty, that puts an end to the firſt Punick war. 241.
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3767. The Carthaginians give up Sardinia to the Romans, and engage to pay them 1200 talents. 237.

3776. AMILCAR is killed in Spain. ASDRUBAL, his ſon-in-law, ſucceeds him in the command of the army. 228.
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3784. Aſdrubal's death. HANNIBAL is made general of the army in his ſtead. 220.

3786. Siege of Saguntum. 218.
Beginning of the ſecond Punick war, which ſubſiſts ſeventeen years.

3787. Hannibal enters Italy, and gains the battles of Ticinius and Trebia. 217.

3789. Death of Hiero. HIERONYMUS, his grandſon, ſucceeds him.

Hieronymus abandons the party of the Romans, and enters into an alliance with Hannibal. He is aſſaſſinated ſoon after. His death is followed with great troubles to Syracuſe.

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| | Cn. Scipio defeats the Carthaginians in Spain. | |
| 3789. | Battle of Cannæ. Hannibal retires to Capua after this battle. | 215. |
| 3790. | Asdrubal is beaten in Spain by the two Scipios. | 214. |
| 3793. | The two Scipios are killed in Spain. | 211. |
| | The Romans beſiege Capua. | |
| 3794. | Hannibal advances to Rome and beſieges it. The Romans ſoon after take Capua. | 210. |
| 3798. | Aſdrubal enters Italy. He is defeated by the conſul Livius, whom the other conſul Nero had joined. | 206. |
| 3799. | Scipio makes himſelf maſter of all Spain. He is made conſul the year following, and goes to Africa. | 205. |
| 3802. | Hannibal is recalled to the aid of his country. | 202. |
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| 3804. | Treaty of peace between the Carthaginians and Romans, which puts an end to the ſecond Punick war. | |
| | Fifty years elapſed between the end of the ſecond, and the beginning of the third, Punick wars. | |
| 3810. | Hannibal is made prætor of Carthage, and reforms the courts of juſtice and the finances. After having exerciſed that office two years, he retires to king Antiochus at Epheſus, whom he adviſes to carry the war into Italy. | 194. |
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GENERAL

# GENERAL

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